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Anglistische Forschungen

Herausgegeben von Dr. Johannes Hoops

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## JOHN HART'S PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH (1569 and 1570)

BY

OTTO JESPERSEN



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I have to thank my friend Professor G. C. Moore Smith and my two pupils Mr. H. Sörensen and Mr. Helweg Möller for assisting me in various ways during the writing and printing of this little volume.

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In my *Studier over Engelske Kasus* (Copenhagen 1891) I expressed my admiration of Hart's work with which I had been struck a year before when reading a number of early English phoneticians and orthoepists in the British Museum. My remarks led Dr. Furnivall to ask me, in 1892, to edit Hart for the Early English Text Society. In 1893, I went once more systematically through the old authorities on English pronunciation, and then told Dr. Furnivall that I was ready to go to print. But fate, or the financial position of the Society, stood in my way; and having failed to get my edition printed by the Society even in the Horatian 'nine years', I have now obtained Dr. Furnivall's kind permission to print my word-lists with some short explanations in a separate volume and thus render generally accessible practically everything of importance in Hart's works. My reason for choosing this mode of proceeding instead of waiting for the texts to be printed is chiefly the constantly growing interest in early Modern English pronunciation. The last few years have seen quite a large number of publications on this subject, by Luick, Viëtor, Franz, Jiriczek, Hauck, Ekwall, Wyld, and others; but in all these books and short papers, many of which are very important for the historical study of English, I have missed a just appreciation and a complete turning to account of the information contained in Hart's work, which seems to be known to most modern scholars

only through Ellis' totally inadequate extracts. I shall be satisfied if this small volume contributes ever so little towards clearing up some of the numerous problems involved in the history of English sounds.

## Sources.

We owe our knowledge of John Hart's pronunciation to three sources, namely,

I. An autograph manuscript in the British Museum (Royal MSS. 17. C. VII) dated 1551.—This must be considered the first imperfect draught of his *Orthographie*, in which it is also mentioned as such.

II. The printed book: AN ORTHO- | graphie, | con-  
teyning the due | order and reason, howe to | write or  
paint thimage of mannes | voice, most like to the life or |  
nature. Composed by | I. H. Chester | Heralt. | The con-  
tents whereof are | next folowing. | Sat cito si sat bene. |  
Anno. 1569.

The latter part of this book (from leaf 47b<sup>1</sup>) is printed in phonetic characters and is the longest connected phonetic text printed before Sweet's *Elementarbuch* (1886). A collation of the two copies in the British Museum has shown me that the author must have corrected some misprints after some copies had already been struck off. Thus, to mention only two instances, on p. 55a G. 7481 has the *m* in *kustum* turned upside down, while 626 a. 3 has it correct. On p. 64a the former copy reads "voëls in . . . aulues befo'r ðem, as befo'r" and the latter "voëlz in . . . auluez befo'r ðem, az befo'r." The correction of

<sup>1</sup> The pagination is wrong after p. 35, so that from the second 32 to 59 each printed number must be increased by 4. Instead of 43 we thus have to read 47.



the turned letter may, of course, be due to the printer himself, but the correction of the ordinary spelling *as* to the phonetic *az*, of *voëls* to *voëlz*, and of *aulues* to *auluez* would certainly be beyond the reach of an ordinary printer and must indubitably be ascribed to the author. In the following lists I have given only the spellings of the corrected copy. — This book is referred to below as O.

III. The printed book: A Methode or comfortable | beginning for all vnlearned, | whereby they may bee taught to | read English, in a very short time, | vvith pleasure: So profitable as | straunge, put in light, by |

I. H. Chester | Heralt. |  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Reason,} \\ \text{Order,} \\ \text{Experience,} \end{array} \right\}$  the  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mother} \\ \text{Nurse} \\ \text{Teacher} \end{array} \right\}$

of al humain perfections | Imprinted at London, | by Henrie Denham. | Anno. 1570.—This book is referred to below as M.

This valuable pamphlet has never been utilized till now, when I am happy to rescue it from oblivion. Though it is mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography* it was neither in the British Museum nor in any of the other great libraries when I called Dr. Furnivall's attention to its existence and to the desirability of reprinting it together with Hart's first work. Fortunately, some time after, Dr. Furnivall came across the title in a Manchester bookseller's catalogue and secured the copy, which is now in the British Museum.

The book is a spelling-primer on phonetic principles. In the introduction Hart explains his principles of teaching children to read, which are essentially the same as are now, three and a half centuries later, only just beginning to be acknowledged and practised among a small set of

“advanced” phoneticians and educationists. The old names of the letters are totally rejected, and the child is to begin with words and sentences written in a simple phonetic alphabet.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the pedagogical value of this introduction it contains some important passages that throw light on Hart’s personality; these will be quoted presently. Then follows the spelling-book proper, containing, first, tables of sounds or letters, then isolated words and small colloquial sentences, and finally “the Lord’s Prayer, Belief, and Ten Commandments,” with Graces before and after meat.

The method of transcription is a little different from that in the *Orthographie*, the chief difference being that a short vowel is often, in the middle of words, indicated by doubling the following consonant, while in O Hart generally left it to be inferred from the want of the dot indicating length and only occasionally showed shortness by the strange device of writing an acute accent over the vowel. Other differences between O and M will be mentioned below.

There is a second copy of the *Methode* in the private library of Mr. Christie-Miller, of Britwell, Bucks. Curiously enough, it deviates in a few particulars from the British Museum copy; in the latter, the Ninth Commandment was left out by mistake, but the mistake was found out, and in the other copy it is rectified. To make space for the insertion, a few lines on the following page were in

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<sup>1</sup> I may say here that I have myself taught my little son to read by means of phonetic texts and have found the method very successful; the subsequent transition to the ordinary spelling offered no difficulty whatever in spite of the unphonetic character of Danish spelling. Cf. also J. Spieser’s article “Lautschrift” in Rein’s *Enzyklopädi. Handbuch der Pädagogik*, zweite Ausg. 1906.

the second impression printed in a smaller type, but the change occasioned some other slips. In accordance with the then prevailing spelling *vp-on* was printed instead of *up-on* in the first impression, the word *lord* was omitted, and *ðe's* was changed into *the'z*, a form in which an error has been introduced at the beginning, and a correction at the end. In the second impression the correct *kre'tiur* and *bi-si'tfing* were also inadvertently changed into *kre'tiur* and *bī-si'tfing*.

John Hart died on the 16<sup>th</sup> of July, 1574.

## Gill and Ellis on Hart.

Hart's *Orthographie* has been very little used by recent writers on the history of English sounds, and where it is mentioned, it is generally with a sneer. This is probably due to the depreciatory remarks made by Gill and Ellis. Of the former's criticism I shall have occasion to speak later; here I shall only remark that Gill, notwithstanding his criticism, applies to Hart's book or system of transcription the expression "bene facta."

Ellis, on the other hand, in speaking of Hart's *Orthographie* (Early Engl. Pronunciation I, p. 35) uses the words "a most disappointing book." He cannot, however, have read the book very carefully at that time, for he says that he has taken the name John Hart from the British Museum catalogue, overlooking the fact that the preface is headed in big letters, "To the doubtfull of the English Orthographie, Iohn Hart Chester heralt wisheth all health and prosperitie." Ellis says that "It seems probable that he was a Welshman," but the only evidence he adduces in support of this assertion is that Hart writes *wld* for *would*, "that is, he did not pronounce (wu) as distinct

from (uu)."<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to see how this hasty conjecture is repeated by other scholars; Wyld mentions Hart as "according to Ellis, probably a Welshman" (*Historical Study of the Mother Tongue*, 1906, p. 303), and Ekwall speaks of him and Salesbury as "Welsh orthoepists" without the least shadow of doubt, saying in another place that "Loss of initial *w* before [ū], [u] is rarely mentioned by early orthoepists, except Welshmen, as Salesbury and Hart, who are not trustworthy authorities" (Dr. John Jones's *Practical Phonography*, Halle 1907, § 531 and 543).

Now, the proof is not conclusive, for a great many English dialects leave out [w] before [u] in such words as *would*, *woman*. Besides, Hart is not a Welsh name, and there is not in the whole of his *Orthographie* the slightest trace of evidence that Welsh, and not English, was Hart's mother-tongue.

But, fortunately, the newly discovered *Methode* allows us to go still further and say with absolute certainty that Hart was no Welshman, and that he *did* pronounce [w] before [u]. With regard to the first point, he says himself, in the preface, "I vse hereafter no marke for the l, asspired, Which yet should be very meete for any man that would write the Welsh; As by the way of pastime, I haue done from a Welshmans mouth, though I vnderstood no worde thereof, and did reade it againe to him, and diuers others of that language, so as one amongst them (which knew me not) sayde vnto the rest in Welsh, that I coulde speake Welsh so well as he. But the rest knowing the contrary, laughing tolde me what he sayde,

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<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, Hart has [uld] with short u much more frequently than the form with long u indicated by Ellis.



whom I forthwith certified, that I did it, by an order and certaine knowledge what I did write, and not by any acquaintance with the tongue. The like haue I done of the Irishe" . . .

As for [w], Hart looks upon it as a vowel, considering the initial groups of *well*, *water*, etc., as diphthongs, and writing, accordingly, *uel*, *uater*, etc. In the same manner, he takes [j], the initial sound of *yet*, *yonder*, etc., to be identical with the vowel [i], writing *iet*, *ionder*, etc. But this view, which is not so very far from the truth after all, involves him in certain difficulties, when this *u* or *i* is followed by another *u* or *i*. Hart dislikes writing the same letter twice consecutively, so in 1569 he wrote *wld* or *uld*, *wndring*, *wnt*, *wrði* for *would*, *wondering*, *wont*, *worthy*, and similarly *i* for *ye*. But he evidently felt the inconvenience of this notation himself, for in the next year he adopted the device, which is not unimpeachable, it is true, but still clear enough, of writing his dotted *u*, which properly stands for long [u], instead of *w* in these combinations, thus *uuman*, *wurk*, *wurſip* for *woman*, *work*, *worship*. It is worthy of note, that in the very last line of his previous book (not counting the Index) he had already hit upon this expedient, writing *worlđ* for *world*. There can, therefore, be not doubt, I think, that Hart really did pronounce the *w* in all these words.

## Standard of Pronunciation.

To the charge that Hart's pronunciation may have been provincial and represented Chester habits of speech rather than "standard" English, I may first quote a letter from Sir James Balfour Paul, who is at present "Lyon King of Arms" or chief herald of Scotland. In answer

to my inquiries he was kind enough to write as follows: "Very little is known about the personality of John Hart, but it is extremely unlikely that he was a Chester man. The office of Chester Herald is a very old one, having been first instituted before 1415. He was a Herald of the King and in the very early days of the office may possibly have been a Chester man, but by the time of John Hart it was merely a heraldic title without any reference to the natal origin of the holder. Indeed from that point of view it would be as correct to say that Hart was a Newhaven man because he bore the title of Newhaven Pursuivant before he was created Chester Herald. —No doubt Chester's office would be in London. As to his social position that is more difficult to pronounce an opinion on. Most of the heralds in the 16<sup>th</sup> century were at all events persons of education and many of them professional men, barristers and the like. Very much indeed as they are now. There is no reason to suppose that Hart would not be in perfectly good Society: no illiterate person would be appointed to a place from which he might be called at any time to go on an embassy to foreign courts . . . . There is still a Chester Herald."

Though Hart himself speaks very modestly of his own studies<sup>1</sup>, yet he is so far from being "illiterate" that he quotes several Latin authors, chiefly Quintilian and other writers on orthography; he knows something about Greek and Hebrew and is fairly familiar with the French, Italian, Spanish, and German languages. He has also noted the different ways of pronouncing Latin in these several countries. He says: "iu me' si' bei ðiz litl treatiz

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<sup>1</sup> And of his own style, which certainly is not always particularly clear.

ei ha·v bin a traveler bi·iond ðe seas, emong vulgar tungs, ov huit/, ðat smaul kno·ledʒ ei ha·v, haþ bin ðe kauz ov ðis mein enterpreis" (p. 57<sup>a</sup>); he mentions Meigret's book on French spelling (1545) as having specially influenced him.

With regard to what he considered the best pronunciation we have two interesting remarks, one in O and the other in M. In the first, he endorses Quintilian's views and says: "huens /aul ðat blesing kum, ðat triu and gu·d þings /aul ple·z mani? ðe veises huit/ me· bi iuzd ov ðe multitiud, /aul bi no kustum, but in spe·king, ui kno ðe unexpert vulgar du spe·k riudlei. ðerfo·r ei uil kaul kustum ov spi·t/, ðe konsent ov ðe lerned, az ov living ðe konsent ov gud men" (p. 55<sup>a</sup>). And in the preface of M: "the accustomed name of eche thing is written therevnder [under the images in his book], as they are called in the Court, and London speac[h]es, where the generall flower of all English countrie speeches, are chosen and vsed. And though some would say it were not so, reason would we should graunt no lesse: for that vnto these two places, do dayly resort from all townes and Countries, of the best of all professions, aswel of the own landsmen, as of aliens and straungers, and therefore they haue the best meanes to take the best and leaue the worst."

There seems to be no reason why we should reject Hart's evidence beforehand and say that he did not know what he professes to know, the pronunciation used in the middle of the sixteenth century by the "best Society" of London. In order to form a judgment of the value of his evidence, our next question must be: Was Hart a capable observer of pronunciation, and was he competent

to give a fairly reliable representation of the spoken language of his time?

## Hart's Phonetic Equipment.

I have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> called Hart the first phonetician of the modern period, and this title of honour is justified by his fairly accurate descriptions of the organic positions required for consonants as well as for vowels, descriptions which are as a rule superior to those found in most works on speech sounds written even two centuries after Hart's death, though, of course, rather defective if judged by twentieth century standards. He sees clearly the difference between what we call voiceless and voiced consonants, saying that "seauen of them haue as many felowes or sisters, and may be so called, for that they are shaped in the mouth in one selfe maner and fashion: differing only by leauing of the inward sound<sup>2</sup> & vse but of the breath." He correctly sees that the voiced sound corresponding to English *sh* is the sound written *j* or *g* in French, which at that time did not exist as a separate sound in English, as such words as *pleasure*, *treasure*, ended still in [ziur] or [zjur].

He sees the difference between stopped and open consonants (see the expressions in the passage quoted below, p. 22). His description of the place where the principal configuration for each consonant takes place is

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<sup>1</sup> *Fonetik*, Copenhagen 1897, p. 17; *Zur geschichte der phonetik*, in *Die neueren sprachen* XIII, 211.

<sup>2</sup> This is Hart's constant expression for 'voice'; in one passage he uses the fuller expression: 'the dull, dumb, inward or groning sounde of the brest'.



on the whole perfectly correct. He defines vowels as "simple soundes or voyces, proceeding from the brest, without any maner of touching of the tongue to the palet or foreteeth, or of the lippes close ioyning together: or eyther of the lippes to their counter teeth" and he clearly distinguishes between back vowels, *a*, *o*, *u*, and front vowels, *e*, *i*—without, of course, using these names which were first invented by Alexander Melville Bell. He knows what a diphthong is (though in one case, which will be discussed below, he is not above the suspicion of having confounded the simple sound of French *u* with a diphthong) and his notions of vowel-length are unusually sound for his age, as he keeps quality and quantity neatly distinct; see also below about vowel-length in diphthongs.

## Syllabic consonants.

Hart recognizes syllables without vowels, though he looks upon them as half-syllables only. As for syllabic *l* and *n*, see the lists in § 45 and 46. While he had no new letter for *n* in this position, he devised one for syllabic *l*, an *l* with a loop to the left. He gives as examples the sentence, "the bedle is hable to fable," and speaks of this *l* as "the *l*, aspired lyke to the Spanishe and Walsh often vse of the *ll*." Ellis infers from this passage (EEP. III, p. 802) that Hart probably pronounced *able* with a voiceless *l*, as in modern French, but this conclusion is certainly wrong. No importance should be attached to Hart's use of the word 'aspired', as that word is used rather loosely in other passages as well; but immediately afterwards he speaks of this English *l* as "dumbe or dull," which in his terminology invariably denotes

voiced sounds, see above p. 10. But his identification of his own sound with Spanish and Welsh *ll* is certainly puzzling, for now, at any rate, the former is different from the English through being palatalized, though voiced like English *l*, while the Welsh *ll* represents a voiceless sound. Salesbury, however, who was familiar with the Welsh voiceless sound, also identifies Spanish *ll* with it, and Sir Thomas Smith says "*Walli nostri & Hispani suum habent peculiarem sonum, quem exprimunt duplici ll, vt Lllamar, Kullmell, qui proximè accedit ad θλ Græcorum hodiernorum.*" Voiceless *l* is even now frequently heard as [pl] by those who are not familiar with the sound. On the strength of these three observations, I venture to throw out the suggestion that Spanish had at that time a voiceless (palatalized) *l* in those cases in which it corresponds to Latin combinations of a voiceless consonant and *l*, as in *llamar* < *clamare*, *llaga* < *plaga*, *llama* < *flamma*, a sound which seems to underlie Portuguese *ch* as well. This would make Spanish *ll* similar to, though not identical with Welsh *ll*. However that may be, Hart in his latest work evidently did not maintain his former identification of Welsh *ll* and his own syllabic *l*, though his rather vague expressions state, perhaps, nothing more than the discovery that no special letter is needed in English: "And for the ,l, asspired, for the which Welshmen, and Spanyardes do vse the ,ll, For our English tongue the ,l, without any mark for the aspiration, may sufficiently serue after the folowing maner of teaching: but otherwise not. And therefore, I vse hereafter no marke for the l, asspired, Which yet should be very meete for any man that would write the Welsh."—In accordance with Hart's latest practice, I have in the following lists printed *l*

everywhere for his looped *l*, as no doubt can in any case exist with regard to the phonetic value of the transcription.

In O (p. 22<sup>a</sup>) Hart speaks about syllabic *r* in words like *order*, *border*, *number*, *render*, in much the same terms as those used about *l* and *n*, but as a matter of fact in the phonetic part of that work he always writes *-er*, see § 14, and it is not till 1570 that he frankly writes *r*, see § 47.

### Aspirated stops.

It is interesting to note that Hart anticipated the modern discovery of the "aspiration" of English voiceless stops (the breath-glide after *p*, *t*, *k*). He speaks of German *pf* and *f* in *pfeiff*, *oepffel* [sic, he means *apfel* or *äpfel*], *offen*, *pflaum*, *pfennig*, and then goes on to say, "in huitf u'rds ui in ingliſ, ha'ving ſa'pt ðem uidout ðe *f*, or *h*, iet ui bre'ð ðe *h*, softli and se': *p-heip*, *ap-hel*, *p-hlum*, *o-p-hen* and *p-heni*." He seems to have gathered from the descriptions of the ancient writers that Greek *ph* represented this "p-h" and not the sound of *f*. With regard to *t(h)* and *k(h)*, he is not quite so explicit as in speaking of *p(h)*; still, his meaning seems undoubtedly to be this, that *th* would correctly represent the actual sound of *t* in all cases, as it does in the usual spelling of the words *Thames*, *Thomas*, and *Sathan* and as it does in German *theil*, *theür*, *thor* and *thün* [sic]. He therefore feels justified in retaining *th* in his phonetic spelling of some words in accordance with their etymology, though he is otherwise a fierce opponent of etymological spelling. As he expressly disapproves the use of the digraph *th* for the English sounds in *thing* and *that*, for which he devised separate symbols, we may feel sure that he always pro-

nounced a real (aspirated) *t* in all the words given with *th* in the list § 44. The case is similar with *k(h)*; the spellings with *ch*, which occur in one page only (51<sup>b</sup>), are not meant to represent actual pronunciations (in that case, he would have written *kh*), but are merely experimental orthographies to show the relation between Latin forms in *c = k*, French forms in *ch = f* and such English pairs as *cart chariot*, *camel chamlet (camlet)*, *candle chandler*.

## Doublets.

Hart's advanced standpoint is shown also in his definite recognition of what has been called in our times the "phonetics of the sentence." He sometimes writes long and sometimes short *i* in the words *me*, *he*, *she*, *we*, *be*, the short vowel being evidently meant for those cases in which the words were weakly stressed in the sentence. While the same duality is still found in these words, only one form survives in the word *have*, where Hart makes a similar distinction; Hart's long-vowel form *ha'v* is, however, still preserved in modern *behave* and in the vulgar *(h)ain't*, when that stands for *have not*. Cf. also remark on *there*, etc., § 14.

## Voice assimilations.

Hart expressly recognizes a double pronunciation in the case of final *s* and *z*, and his words are interesting enough to be quoted in full: "and furðer ei feind ðe *z*, iuzd in *iz*, *az*, *hiz*, *ðiz*, and sutʃ laik oftŋ, and ðat akorðing tu ðe spiʃtʃ, huitʃ iet huen ðe foluŋg u'rd begineþ uið s, ð'order ov ðe tung duþ tʃaundʒ intu s, ðus: *iz uel*, *az ani*, *hiz o'n*, *ðiz ue'*, but ðe foluŋg u'rd beginning uið

*s*, or *f*, *ðus*, *is sed*, *as sun*, *his se'ing*, *ðis salt*, and *as fí*, *is fa'mfast*, *his fert*, *ðis fo'r*. hier iz tu bi noted ðat ðe first ov ð'uðer breðed tu' pe'r of konsonants, tu-uit *v*, and *ð*, me' oftn bi-in laik maner t/andʒd in spirtʃ frō ðe'r inuward sound tu ðer bre'ðd feluz, & kontrariueiz ðe-u'rds ending uið bre'ðd konsonants in sum pla's, me' (uiðout ani-ofens tu ð'e'r) ta'k ðe sound ov ðe'r afein beginning ðe next u'rd: or ðe later ov ðe first u'rd bi t/andʒed from sound tu breþ, huen her soüded afein begineþ ðe folu'ing u'rd. and ðe laik me hapn betuixt ðe fou'r uðer pe'rz, tu uit *b*, and *p*: *g*, and *k*: *dʒ*, and *tʃ*: *d*, and *t*, and gi'v ðe beter sound: huitʃ duþ beautifi everi langadʒ. it me' bi aulso, ðat ani o'n ov ðe sounded [*i. e.* voiced] ov ðe se'vn pe'rz, komonlei in o'n u'rd, at ð'end ðer-of, me' le'v ðe sound and bi obedient tu ðe breþ ov ani o'n ov ðe se'vn bre'ðd as for *ha'v ta'kn*: teim me' feind it gud tu se' *ha'f ta'kn*: for *feind faut*, to se' *feint faut*: and sutʃ laik: iet until ui spe'k so, ei kno no man uil ureit so. but ðis iz tu bi noted ðat ani ov ðe bre'ðd ov ðe se'vn pe'rz, most komonlei at ð'end ov ðe former u'rd, huer ðe folu'ing begineþ uið o'n voël or mo'r, iz t/andʒed intu her afein sounded, and ðat bei ð'afinite-it hap uiþ ðe voël, huitʃ ei ha'v mutʃ observed az rezon uaz" (p. 60<sup>b</sup>, 61<sup>a</sup>).

If I am not mistaken, this is the earliest mention by any European phonetician of that particular form of "sandhi" which consists in a final consonant being assimilated to the initial sound of the following word with regard to voice or voicelessness. But Hart evidently gives too narrow a rule, when he says that the [z] of *is*, *as*, *his*, *this*, etc. was changed into [s] only before [s] and [ʃ]; the change took place before other voiceless consonants as well, and also before a pause. Hart's own practice in



O is not quite consistent, and probably he did not discover the double pronunciation till most of the book had been written; some instances of final -s are probably due to the printer. But in M he succeeded in being more consistent, and a glance at the figures given in § 42 and § 43 under the words concerned will show that the wording of the rule I have given above is correct for Hart's own pronunciation; it is also what might be expected from the nature of the sounds and from what is found in those languages that present the same peculiarity in their actual pronunciation (see, for instance, my *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, 1904, § 176).—As for final -s in inflected forms, we find sometimes [s] and sometimes [z] in Hart's transcriptions, see the lists in § 42 and § 43; in a few cases we may notice a tendency to regulate the sound according to the following sound (see the transcriptions of *enemies* and *inventors*). Perhaps the conclusion is not unwarranted that in all those cases in which modern English knows only final [z], Hart had a double pronunciation, voiced before a voiced sound, and voiceless elsewhere. This would be true of a few other cases, where present English has only the voiceless sound, e. g. *this*, *purpose*, and adjectives in -ous. In all these cases, the voicing of s took place in accordance with "Verner's law in English" as shown by me in *Studier over Engelske Kasus*, 1891, p. 178ff.

The relation between the two forms of the preposition *of*, namely [of, ov], was evidently the same, though in O we find in a good many instances *ov*, where the sandhi-rule would make us expect *of* (*ov spirt/s*, *ov kurtezi*, etc.) But in M we find *of* only before voiceless consonants (twice), while *ov* occurs before voiced consonants (16 times),

and vowels (5 times), also before *h* (twice). Final *of* in *hereof*, *thereof*, and *whereof* is invariably written with *-f*. *If* is generally spelled *if*, but occurs twice in the form *iv* before a vowel (*iv ani*, *iv iu*).

Another parallel case is *with*; both pronunciations are found, but not always used consistently according to the sandhi-rule. As a clear instance I shall mention from p. 50<sup>b</sup>: [the Latins] *ura't ðo:z urds uið b, ðoh ðe griks ura't ðem uiþ ph*. — Hart's words about the assimilation in *have taken*, *find fault* I take to mean that in such cases there was only a *tendency* to change the final sound which was not universally carried out in actual pronunciation.

## Other double forms.

Nor do Hart's observations of sentence-doublets end here; after some remarks on the slurring of vowels (see below) he goes on: "ðer iz aulso-a diskresion in ureting<sup>1</sup> betuixt *a*, *mei*, *ðei*, *fro*, and *no*: and *an*, *mein*, *ðein*, *f'rom* and *no'n*. *a*, iz fitlei-uritn huen ðe-u'rd folu'ing begineþ uið a konsonant, but uið voël or diphthong ðe [m, or]<sup>2</sup> *n*, ste'ip ðe ga'ping ov ðe tu' voëls huitf els fuld kum tugeðer: ðe laik ov ðe rest: and *no'n* iz aulso-insti'd ov *ne-o'n* or *not o'n*. so for *tu*-and *tīl*, huen ðe presi'ding urd faul end uið *d*, or *t*, *un*, duþ kum fitli betuixt ðe *t*, ov *tu* or *tīl*, and ðe former *d*, or *t*, tu separa't an over-mutf sound ov bre'ding ov ðem: so ðat *send untu-us*, and *hi sent untu-iu*, iz beter se'd and so uritn, ðen *send tu-us*. or *hi sent tu-iu*, for so spo'kn ðe muht giv okazion tu ðe he'rer t'under-stand, *send us*, and *hi sent iu*. in huitf

<sup>1</sup> Evidently a misprint for *ureiting*.

<sup>2</sup> The bracketed words added by Hart in his list of "Faultes escaped in part of the Copies of this first impression."

and uðer sut/ leuk ðe diskresion ov ðe-ureiter uil-bi-iuzd.” Hart is obviously wrong in applying the rule for *a*, *an*, etc. to *fro* and *from* (in his own texts *from* is the only form used, before consonants as well as vowels), and the rule for *un* in *unto* and *until* cannot be paralleled with the other rules—indeed, Hart’s own words about ‘diskresion’ show that he sees the difference—still Hart’s words deserve notice, because it was not common even for grammarians in those times to pay any regard to such things. It would, perhaps, be worth while to examine whether Hart’s rule for *unto* and *until* was observed in contemporary authors; I have counted the instances of the preposition *to* (not *to* before an infinitive) and of *vnto* in a few pages of the Authorized Version of 1611, and have found the following figures, which to some extent corroborate Hart’s view:

|                                                |     |
|------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>to</i> after <i>d</i> or <i>t</i> . . . .   | 1   |
| <i>to</i> elsewhere . . . .                    | 12  |
| <i>vnto</i> after <i>d</i> or <i>t</i> . . . . | 32  |
| <i>vnto</i> elsewhere . . . .                  | 26. |

### And, an.

There is an even more striking instance of Hart’s rare power of observation. While in O *and* is always written *and*, in M he gives two forms. In the beginning of the book a great many colloquial sentences are given, and there the word invariably occurs in the familiar form *an*; but in the devotional and biblical pieces forming the latter part of the *Method*, the word is always spelled *and*. Thus even differences of pronunciation due to style did not escape Hart’s notice, and he wanted to express them, too, in his reformed spelling.

## Hart's System compared with Bullokar's and Gill's.

If these instances of accurate observation dispose us to put confidence in Hart's work, so does his system of reformed spelling. It is as simple and neat as such a system can be, and though we may regret that it does not indicate more subtle shades of sounds—he has only five vowel and 21 consonant symbols—we must admire the consistent use he made of those symbols and the truly scientific spirit in which he devised and carried out his transcription. The system is purely phonetic, which is more than we can say of any other system of that period. Hart did not want to indicate anything but the pronunciation of his own time. He is in that respect very unlike that muddle-headed spelling-reformer Bullokar, who devised different signs by which to write the ending *-s* or *-z* according to its several grammatical functions, but used the same signs for the voiced as for the voiceless ending; who did not keep *u* and *v* apart<sup>1</sup>; who employed a good many mute letters; who used his sign for syllabic consonants in many cases where no new syllable is produced; whose system is nothing but the traditional spelling with a host of mystical and inconsistently employed dots and accents over and under the letters,—and is in short “confusion worse confounded.”

Gill's system is, of course, infinitely superior to Bullokar's; but this again is not purely phonetic. He admits four ‘rules’ “*quæ regulæ huius asperitatem* [that is, a

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<sup>1</sup> Bullokar expressly objects to Maister Chester's (*i. e.* Hart's) view that *f* and *v* are a ‘paire’.

strictly phonetic spelling] aliquantulum lenire, Orthographiam permultum adiuuare possunt. 1. Deriuatio, 2. Differentia, 3. Mos receptus, & 4. Dialectus."

According to the first, Gill writes the vowels in many, perhaps most, unstressed syllables with more regard to etymology than to sound. As this very important paragraph (Jiriczeks ed. of Gill, p. 14, l. 23—34) seems to have been generally misunderstood, I subjoin a free paraphrase of it to show what to me is its obvious meaning: "Etymology should never make us write letters which are not actually heard and which neither can nor ought to be heard; thus I object strongly to writing *houer*, *honor*, *honest* instead of *ouer*, *onor*, *onest*, because we say *an ouer*, not *a houer*, etc. But whenever the sound is indistinct or wavering, we should follow etymology, thus writing *divjn*, *skolar* in preference to *devjn*, *skoler* [which in themselves would indicate Gill's pronunciation equally well or even better]; it is better to write *personz* than *persnz*, because in *personal*, *personaliti* the vowel *o* has not yet disappeared [accordingly, it was no longer heard in *persons* and was probably vanishing in the other words]. Thus educated people who have learnt etymology, should write *divjn*, *skolar*, *onor*, *kunzurer*; but I have no objection to unlearned people following their ears and writing *devjn*, *skoler*, *oner*, *kunzerer*." In the whole of this paragraph Gill makes no allusion at all to any difference in pronunciation between educated and uneducated people; his own unaccented vowels, then, were just as indistinct as those of the "indoctus." This has been overlooked by all modern writers on these subjects.—Where Gill did not know the etymology, he wrote like the 'indoctus', thus *venter* = 'venture'.



Gill's second principle makes him distinguish in his spelling, not only between *our* 'noster' and *ouer* 'hora' where a distinction *may* be made in pronunciation (*id enim & prolatio ferre potest*), but also between *j* 'ego', *ei* 'oculus', and *ēi* 'ita', where he expressly says that there was a difference only in the meaning (*solo sensu*), and not in the sound.—The third principle, *consuetudo*, makes Gill write *fōlk*, *fālt*, *bālm*, *hālf*, *tālk*, *wālk* with *l* though it was in his pronunciation usually mute, further *with*, *oðer*, *of*, *against* in preference to *wið*, *uðer*, *ov*, *agenst*, although the rejected spellings would according to him represent the ordinary pronunciation, while the preferred spellings indicate nothing more than what *some* educated or learned people pronounce *sometimes*, especially when reading (*docti aliqui viri sic legunt, & aliquando loquuntur*). Custom also makes Gill write *qu-* rather than *kw-* and retain the ordinary spelling of proper names.—Finally "dialectus" makes Gill tolerant of differences in spelling, especially in poetry. This fourth principle cannot, really, be put on an equal footing with the others.

Now it is clear that all these qualifications of the phonetic principle, meant as they were to make Gill's proposed scheme of spelling more palatable to his contemporaries, must very seriously impair the value of his work for *our* purposes. Gill does not give, and does not pretend to give, a faithful representation of his own or anybody else's actual pronunciation, still less is his spelling meant to show or to teach any particular pronunciation: it is simply a reformed spelling with a leaning towards phoneticism. If we want to know the pronunciation of any given word in the early seventeenth century, it is not sufficient to look up Gill's representation

of that word, but we must in every case put the question, Has not etymology, or the desire of differentiation, or simply conservatism made him deviate from the natural pronunciation in favour either of a pedantic or even of a non-existing pronunciation?

Hart's spelling, on the other hand, is based on no other principle but actual pronunciation, rendered with the utmost fidelity he was capable of, and with express rejection of such considerations as etymology. He even goes so far as to say (p. 62<sup>a</sup>): "ðe skotif spirtf iz *tuil-iu*, for our *huat uil-iu*, huei me' ðe' not boldlei ureit it so?" Hart is on his guard against "spelling-pronunciations" as in his remark (ibid.) "az ðiz u'rd *komaundment*, ðer iz no'n but spelerz du se' *komaundement huitf* iz ðe frenf sound, and ureiting." He does not admit capital letters in his spelling, being thus more consistently phonetic than some phoneticians of the twentieth century, and, what is even more remarkable, in his index he does not follow the time-honoured arrangement of the alphabet, but takes first the vowels *a, e, i, o, u*, then "ðe four pe'rz huitf ar ma'd uið a stoping breþ: tu uirt *b, p: d, t: g, k:* and *dʒ, tʃ* [which were considered as single sounds and represented by single letters]. ðen ð'uðer pri' þrulei bre'ðd pe'rs, tu uirt *ð, þ: v, f:* and *z, s*. ðen ðe 5 semiuoka'ls *l, m, n, r,* and *L* [his sign for syllabic *l*, see above], and ðe tu bre'ðs *ʃ* and *h*." Thus, to the very end of his book, Hart—if I may coin a useful word—is the least spelling-bound of all the old phoneticians, grammarians, and spelling-reformers.

## Hart's Practice.

If Hart's principles, then, are excellent, the next question must be, How did he carry them out in his practice? Are the transcriptions we actually find in his books, as reliable as his theories would lead us to expect? And here it must be said at once that it would have been better if the printer and proof-reader had been much more careful. There is no doubt that many words are not spelt exactly according to pronunciation, whether the fault in any particular case be Hart's own or the printer's. No one who has practised writing and printing phonetic texts will be too severe on that point. The dots under letters to denote vowel-length are especially liable to drop off or to be forgotten. In most cases it is possible by means of such statistics as are given in the lists below to determine Hart's pronunciation with tolerable exactness. But with regard to many words found in two or more forms, it would certainly be rash to consider only one as correct and look upon the others merely as misprints. Indeed, the greater familiarity acquired through my protracted occupation with Hart has taught me much greater circumspection in rejecting any form in his books as erroneous than I had to begin with, and I have now left out of my lists many of the signs by which I had at first denoted forms as due to influence from the ordinary spelling or to the omission of a dot. Some of these will be discussed below; here I shall only mention that the three forms of *father* (faðer, fa'ðr, fa'dr), the two forms of the ending *-al* (-al, -aul) and of *-ly* (-li, -lei) are all of them correct, as shown conclusively by the notations of other old phoneticians and by other considerations.

### The Sounds in Detail.

It will be impossible here to deal with all the questions that Hart's transcriptions might give rise to; that would, indeed, amount to a discussion of most problems in the history of modern English sounds. I shall confine myself to the most important or most debatable points, reserving the treatment of other points for my forthcoming *Modern English Grammar* (Vol. I, Sounds and Spellings). To the student the most fruitful source of information is the phonetically written part of Hart's books; all the words therein contained will be found in the complete word-lists given below. But in the following pages I shall also give such information as may be derived from the non-phonetic parts.

#### Consonants.

There is very little that calls for remark in the consonant system, which has, on the whole, remained unchanged to a higher degree than the vowels.

Hart gives as examples of mute consonants the following words, most of which do not occur in his reformed spelling: *b* in *doubt*, *c* and *h* in *authoritie*, *l* in *souldiour*, *s* in *baptisme*, *p* in *corps*, *condempned*.

He considers *dʒ* and *tʃ* as simple sounds, denoting them by means of a letter closely resembling our *z* and a *C* with a loop to it. For practical reasons I have everywhere substituted *dʒ* and *tʃ* for these two symbols. The sounds are identified by Hart with Italian *gi* and with Italian *c* before *e* and *i*, Spanish *ch*.

Hart retains the sound of *t* in the combinations *-stl* and *-ftn*, writing *kastl*, *epistl*, *oftn*, but not in *-nch*, writing *frenf*, not *frentf*.

Hart's works give us no means of ascertaining whether his *ng* stands always for [ŋg], which to me is very probable, or sometimes for [ŋg] and sometimes for [ŋ] as in modern pronunciation.

With regard to *l*, the old form *faut* with the French dropping of *l* occurs twice and probably was the only form used by Hart; for *faultz*, which is found once, obviously is nothing but the ordinary spelling retained, so that a conclusion as to Hart's pronunciation can no more be drawn from the *l* than from the final *z*. Cf. also his *kauderon* for 'cauldron'. For 'realm' he has *re'm*, which agrees with the pun in Ben Jonson's *Euery Man in his Humour* V. 1 (l. 2829 in Bang's ed. of the Folio) "Bodie o' me, he carries a whole realme, a common-wealth of paper, in's hosel!" On the other hand, there is no trace in Hart of the *English* disappearance of *l*; he writes *tsalk* and *half*. The three-syllable form *eidllel* with syllabic *l* in the middle syllable deserves notice.

*k* in *kn-* and *w* in *wr-* were still pronounced everywhere.

Hart says that many in reading Latin pronounce *d* and *t* in certain words as *ð* and *p* (p. 38<sup>a</sup>), and in a later passage (p. 51<sup>a</sup>) after stating that the sounds [ð, p] were found in Latin no more than in Italian, French, or Spanish, he says: "iet our predesesors abiuzd ðe *d*, in *ad*, and aul ðe kompounds ðerof in ðe sound ov ð, eksept ð' u'rd huer-uið it iz kompounded began uið *d*, az *dico*, and *duco*, in *sutʃ* ðe foloing *d*, did konstre'n ðem tu sound ðe former riht. and mo'r ha'v ui abiuzd ðe *t*, in ðe sound ov *p*, in ðe þird persons singuler ov aul verbs aktivz and neuters ending in *t*, uið a voel befor it: and for *d*, in *apud*, ðe *t*, in *caput*, &c." This may account for Hart's own *advertized*, if it is not simply a misprint, cf. *aduertizment*.



## Vowels.

The old-spelling examples which Hart gives of the five vowels written in the manner he recognizes, are first the sentence, "The pratling Hosteler hath dressed curried and rubbed our horses well," and then the following words,

- a: haue Adam,
- e: set the net,
- i: bring this in,
- o: no not so,
- u: cum vp cut.

The vowels with the value that he wanted to give to them throughout are according to him all contained in the one Italian word *riputatione*, and in the German sentence, "*Im anfang was das wort, vnd das wort was bey Gott vnd Gott was das selbig wort*". This gives us a general clue to the sounds attributed by Hart to his vowel letters, though it leaves us in doubt with regard to such details as the exact quality for instance of *i* and *u*: were they narrow as in the Italian, or wide as in the German words?

## i.

See lists § 1—5.

Long [i'] generally corresponds to Middle English long close *e*, in the received spelling written *e*, *ee*, *ie*. But there are some words in which Hart has this sound although the received spelling has *ea*, which generally means the more open sound, Hart's [e']. Among these, *stri:k* and *ui'ri* can hardly be called exceptions, since it is really the spelling *ea* that is irregular (ME. *streke*, *strike*, OE. *strica*; OE. *wērig*). The close pronunciation of the verb *to read* seems to have been common; the

spellings *reed*, *reede*, *rede* were pretty frequent in those days, and *rede* is still used sometimes in the archaic signification 'advise'; cf. also Scotch *reid*. Shakespeare rimes this *read* with *indeed* (Viëtor, *A Shakespeare Phonology*, p. 16), and in Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess*, in the rimes of which the two sounds are kept scrupulously apart, the present tense *read* is found riming with *speed*. The explanation probably is that a new present stem was formed analogically from the past tense and participle *re(a)d*, cf. *feed:fed*, *speed:sped*, etc. Cf. the Shakespearian *sheed*, see Viëtor, l. c. 17.—*kli'n* for *clean* might be the old Kentish form. I can offer no quite satisfactory explanation of Hart's *in sti'd ov* for *instead of* (Butler, *Hudibr.* p. 139, rimes *in their stead:need*).

The occurrence of the lengthened form of short OE. *i* in *gi(·)v*, *li(·)v*, *ui(·)t* is interesting; cf. the same phenomenon with *u*, below.

Some instances of long [i'] must be discussed in connection with what Hart says about the English pronunciation of Latin. On p. 31<sup>a</sup> and again 34<sup>a</sup> he says that "we our selues doe rightly sound all fve vowels in the Gospell [St. John] in Latine, *In principio erat verbum*, etc. vnto *sine*: where *i*, is sounded the Diphthong *ei*, or Greek *ei*, & in *qui*, as though it were written *quci*, whereas in *quis* and *quid* it is rightly sounded." He gives as further instances of the right pronunciation of *i*, that is, as [i] or [i'], *nobis*, *tui*, *sui*, *vobis*, *tuis*, *suis*, *ille*, *ipse*, *iste*, *hic*, *is*, and the ending of the dative and ablative plural, while [ei] is used in the vocative *mi*, in *mei*, *tibi*, *sibi*, in the second syllable of *illius*, *illi*, *ipsius*, *ipsi*, *istius*, *isti*, in the nominative plural; "in *mihi*, many of late days do sound the *i*, right in both sillables, euen as *i*, in *nobis*"; "in

*vita*, *vitam*, *virī*, and *qui* some sounde it also in *ei*." With regard to the expression "of late days" it may, perhaps, be remarked that it is more probable that [i:] was the old pronunciation and that [ei] had only just come in in the sixteenth century as a consequence of the diphthongizing of English long *i*. Further, Hart says on p. 47<sup>b</sup> immediately after the "title" of the first chapter given in his new spelling: "In ðis titl abuv-uritn, ei konsider ov ðe i', in exersi'z, & ov ðe u, in instruments: de laik ov ðe i', in titl, huit' ðe komon man, and mani lernd, du' sound in ðe diphþongs ei, and iu: iet ei uld not þink it mirt to ureit ðem, in ðo'z and laik urds; hue'r ðe sound ov ðe voël o'nli, me' bi as uel alouëd in our spit', as ðat ov ðe diphþong iuzd ov ðe riud: and so far ei alou obser-vasion for derivasions." This evidently means, that in these words both pronunciations were in actual use, though [i:] and [u] were rarer, and that Hart here preferred the latter pronunciations as being in harmony with the Latin words from which they were derived, if Latin were pronounced in the (correct) manner he advocated. This will account for Hart's [i:] in *aspi'r*, *deri'v*, and *devi'z*; *resiteþ* is in any case a misprint, whether we take it as standing for *resi'teþ* or for *reseiteþ*; the latter would agree with *seit* 'cite'. All these are Latin words, and when we find *li'kt* once for 'liked', the probability is that it is misprinted for *leikt*; the adjective and adverb 'like' is frequently spelled *leik*.

## e.

See lists § 10—14.

Long [e:] regularly represents ME. open *e*, in the ordinary spelling often written *ea*.

Hart's [e] in words like *day* will be discussed separately, see diphthongs.

For (n)*either*, he has the forms (n)*eðer* and (n)*e'ðer* (besides *noðer*, which corresponds to ME. *nouther*). These forms are interesting; Viëtor (l. c. 39 f.) mentions the rimes *neither : together* and *neither : whether* in two (doubtful) Shakespearian poems and says that the form with long [e]—the source of modern [i]—is first recorded by Cooper (1685), and that the form with short [e] is not mentioned till Lediard (1725). Here, then, we have a further instance of the useful information obtained through Hart's book.<sup>1</sup>

ME. shortened [e] is found in the comparative *greter* (cf. mod. *latter*, *utter*); *nerer* for mod. *nearer* probably belongs to the same class.

In unstressed syllables both *be-* and *bi-*, *de-* and *di-* are found (but only *re-*). A more important fact is the retention in final syllables of original *-e* in some words from the French, namely in *afinite*, *komodite* (also *-ti*), *diskomodite*, *kuriozite*. The medial *e* in *verclei* 'verily' is an original *ai*, cf. below.

The forms *emong* and *emongst* (only once *amongst*) are not peculiar to Hart, but are found rather frequently in the fourteenth and following centuries, see NED.

It is not easy to ascertain the exact value of *e* in weak syllables; in many cases it has developed into mod. [i], as in the endings *-ed*, *-es*; in other cases we have now [i] by the side of [ə], as in *-ment*; but in most cases we have [ə] alone, especially before (written) *r*. That the vowel must already have approached the modern mixed

<sup>1</sup> Butler, too, rimes *whether : neither* and *either, together : either* (Hudibr. p. 25, 123, 254.)

vowel, may be, perhaps, inferred from the insertion of a parasitic *e* before *r*, as in *piuer*, 'pure', *siuër* (also *siur*) 'sure', *feiër* 'fire', *meier* 'mire', *o'er* 'oar'; perhaps also in *e'er* (= 'e're' for ever?) and in *beiër*, the meaning of which is doubtful, as 'buyer' does not give very good sense: it occurs in the sentence, '*this bier is higher of power, than the dier by his fire*', which is given as furnishing examples of three vowels coming together and forming two syllables. See also *diër* 'dear' and *hier* 'here' in the list § 7 (and 6). With these words may be compared the following, in which the *e* formed etymologically a separate syllable, *viuër* 'viewer', *deiër* 'dyer', *heiër* 'higher', *pouër* or *pou'er* 'power', *ple'er* 'player'. No parasitic *e* is found in the following, *apîr*, *tfîr*, *tfêr*, *er* 'ear', *pre'r* 'prayer', *mo'r*, *fo'r*-, *befo'r* or *bifo'r*, *ro'r*, *so'r*, no more than in the weak syllables of *figiur*, *natiur*, *pleziur*, *per-adventiur*, *thre'ziur*, and *iur* 'your', which goes together with these as being generally unstressed.

### a.

That Hart's *a*, long and short, was really a back vowel and had not become the front vowel [æ] or [ɛ], is evident from his description, compared with that of the other vowels: *a* is formed "with wyde opening the mouth, as when a man yauneth." *O* is formed "by taking awaye of all the tongue, cleane from the teeth or gummes, as is sayde for the a, and turning the lippes round as a ring . . .," and *u* "by holding in lyke maner the tongue from touching the teeth or gummes (as is said of the a, and o) and bringing the lippes so neare together, as there be left but space that the sounde may passe forth with the breath." Contrast this with the description of the



front vowels: *e* is formed "with somewhat more closing the mouth [than for *a*], thrusting softlie the inner part of the tongue to the inner and vpper great teeth, (or gummes for want of teeth)," and *i* "by pressing the tongue in like maner, yet somewhat more foreward, and bringing the iawe somewhat more neare."

The back quality of *a* is also evident from the manner in which Hart identifies it with the *a* of other languages, Italian, Spanish, French and Welsh. But in his mention of German he says, "ðe-a, ðe du-oftn sound bro'der ðen ui du', but mut/ aulso-as ui du." This of course means that the Germans have two varieties of *a* (as indeed they have even now), and that the "broader" (retracted or lowered) variety was not found in English. This broad *a* cannot, then, have been Hart's sound in those cases in which Viëtor supposes it to have been common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the predecessor of the [ɔ] of our own days. (Phon. Studien III, 92, Shakesp. Phon. p. 66.)

There may, of course, have been some little qualitative difference between the long and the short *a*, the very first germ of the splitting into the two sounds of the present [ei] and [æ], as in *lame* and *lamb*; but the difference was probably very small, comparable to that between the [i] of *feet* and the [i] of *fit*.

There are some interesting vacillations in quantity, which could certainly be more easily tolerated when the qualitative difference was small than later, when "long and short *a*" had become distinct sounds; see the notations of *father*, *change*, *master*, also the ending *-ation*, which is regularly transcribed *-asion* in O and *-asion* in M.

## o.

See the lists, § 26 ff.

Both long and short *o* were probably 'open', though it is impossible to determine their exact quality.

The instances of *o* or *o*· for *ow* will be discussed below; in the lists they are marked with a star.

The lengthening *bo·r*' in the apostrophized form of *borrow* is peculiar; I am not able to parallel it from other sources.

The shortened *holli* for *holy* (OE. *hālig*) is to be compared with the received *sorry* (OE. *sārig*), with *ready* (OE. *rædig*) and other shortenings due to the inflected forms, in which the consonant group in [-rjə, -djə] reacted on the preceding vowel. Besides, compounds like *holiday* and *holibut* (generally written *halibut*) with their regularly shortened vowel may have influenced the simple word.

There are some traces of the development which ultimately led to the modern [w] in *one*, *once*, though they are not found in these words, which are still *o·n*, *o·ns*, but in *only*, written *uonli* in M (but *o(·)nli* in O), and in *huolei*, in both of which Standard English has given up the [w]-sound though it is still retained in the spelling *wholly*.

## u.

See the lists, § 34 ff.

No mention is found of the tendency to unround this vowel which has led to the modern [ʌ] in *cut*, etc.

OE. short *u* is lengthened in *lu·v* 'love', and in *abu·v* 'above', which is also found with short *u*. The shortening of long *u* = OE. *ō*, which is so common later, is found in *mother* and *other*, which now have [ʌ]. and in *book*, *took*,

and *good*, which now have [u]; in all of these words the long *u* is, however, also recorded by Hart; cf. also his forms for *done* and *doth*.

In *instrument* the ordinary pronunciation had *iu*, and Hart only writes *u* because this pronunciation, evidently the rarer one, agreed with the derivation of the word, see the passage quoted *sub i*. While he writes likewise *argument*, *institutions*, *uniform*, *uniformlei*, *universali*, *kuriuz*, *kuriozite*, we are probably right when we take *iu* to be a more common pronunciation than his *u*; cf. also the two transcriptions of *crucify* and *tutor*.

For *u* alternating with *ou*, see this diphthong.

### Diphthongs.

**e = ay, ey and o = ow.**

This will be the proper place to deal with Hart's *e* in words like *day*, *may*, *play*, *chain*, *faith*, *obey*, etc., in which twentieth century English has regularly the diphthong [ei] or rather [e'i]. The words concerned will be easily found in the list § 10, where I have marked them with a star. In the rest of the words, Hart's *e* regularly corresponds to ME. open *e*, which has become Present English [i, ij] as in *deal*, *each*, *ease*, if it has not been shortened as in *breath*, *death*. Now, as the sounds in the two groups of words were kept apart in ME. and are also distinct in Present English, it is unthinkable that they should have been identical in an intermediate period. If such words as *sea* and *say*, *scal* and *sail*, *veal* and *veil* had coalesced, how could they have been again separated and distributed into two sounds in a manner that exactly corresponded to the original distribution? This would presuppose in ordinary English speakers of the seven-

teenth century a knowledge of Middle English sound-history which would be little short of miraculous.

This consideration leaves us only two possible explanations: either Hart represented a dialect confounding the two sounds, a dialect which was nowhere else mentioned and which died out rapidly without leaving any traces, or else his notation was deficient. Of these two alternatives the second is undoubtedly the more probable. Hart had only five vowel symbols; and most likely there was no period of the language in which this would have been a sufficient number to render all the vowels really used as distinct sounds in English. How, then, did Hart pronounce his "e" in *day*?

The solution is to be found, I believe, in Hart's theory of diphthongs. More clearly than other phoneticians he saw that quantity in diphthongs is not quite so simple a matter as one might imagine. In O he expressly distinguishes between two classes of diphthongs, one consisting of two short vowels and the other of one short and another long. As examples of the first class he gives the sentence "ui uil reid bei ionder uel, hue'r ðe uat uas uelne'r ta'kn bei ðe iung hound," and of the second "iu ue'r ua'king in ðe fou'rp tou'r, hue'r az ðe bue' did pou'r ua'ter upon ðe hue't flour" (43<sup>b</sup>). It will be seen that he reckons as diphthongs also combinations with [j] and [w], and that *hue'r* in the first sentence is really an example of the second class. Hart did not in this work perceive the possibility of a third class, consisting of a long first and a short second element. But in his last work, M, he recognized such long-short diphthongs, writing *o'i* in *o'ister* 'oyster' and *o'u* in a dozen words (see list § 32). With the exception of *bro'uh't* 'brought' all these *o'u*-words have

now the identical diphthong [o'u], and the [u]-element originates partly in an old *w* (OE. *w* in *māwan*, *sāwan*, *siowian*, *sāwol*; OE. *g*, ME. *w* in *boga*, *āgen*), partly in the glide before *l*.

If now we examine how Hart expressed the same sound in his previous work, we find a great deal of vacillation, the evident result of a deficient appreciation of the real nature of the diphthong. He writes *ou* in *oun* 'own', but generally he has *o* or short *o*: *gro*·, *kno*·, *kno*·*n*, *fio*· — *kno*, *fio* or *fo* (also *feu*), *bestoēd*, *slopf*ul<sup>1</sup>, *noðer* ('neither'; OE. *nāwðer*); before *l*: *tʃarko*·*l*, *ko*·*l*, *ko*·*lu*·*rts* — *bold*·*lei*, *old*.<sup>2</sup> In M we have one isolated instance of the notation Hart used in O, in the word *ro*· = 'row (in a boat)'.<sup>3</sup>

It is worthy of note that Hart hesitated with regard to the writing of *ou* before *ght* and that the two instances of *ouht* occur later in O (p. 67<sup>b</sup>, 68<sup>b</sup>) than the two of *oht* (p. 50<sup>b</sup>, 53<sup>b</sup>); *brouht* is found on p. 58<sup>b</sup>, but *broht* on p. 51<sup>a</sup>, 62<sup>b</sup>, 65<sup>b</sup>. In M, a year later, he wrote *brouht*. It is possible that Hart and his contemporaries had two pronunciations, one with short *o*, which has regularly resulted in Present English [ɔ], and another with [o'u], which has since disappeared.

<sup>1</sup> This word is now pronounced [slo'uɪp]; ME. *slouthe* is formed directly from the adjective *slow*. Ekwall (*Zur gesch. der stimmhaften interdentalen spirans*, Lund 1906, p. 25) interprets Hart's *slopf* and *iuɪp* as containing short vowels; but it is better to interpret both words in accordance with the naturally developed present pronunciation.

<sup>2</sup> We have the same vacillation in weak syllables with *-ow* from ME. *-we* (*-āwe*): *borouēd*—*felo*·—*moro*, *boro*, *folo*, beside which we find *-u* and *-w*: *felu*·, *folu*·—*felu*, this *u* being the natural syllabification of *w* after the disappearance of the final *e*; in *folueɪp*, *foluing*, *halued* we have, perhaps, dissyllabic forms with *u* = [w].



If now we turn to the *day*-diphthong, the historical development of which is on the whole parallel to that of the diphthong in *know*, the conclusion seems warranted that here too Hart had a diphthong with a long first element, and that in 1569 he did not know how to deal with it. Consequently, just as he wrote *gro* for 'grow', he used the makeshift notation *de* for 'day'. In 1570 he had corrected his conception of one of these diphthongs, but not yet of the other: if we had been fortunate enough to have a still later book from his hand, it is probable that we should have seen in it some such notation as *de.i*. Indeed, in two places we find a forestalling of this notation as early as 1569, in the forms *ste'id* for the participle 'stayed' (also *ste'd*) and *ste'ip* for the third person singular of the same verb, both occurring towards the end of O. Both forms are evidently meant as monosyllables, for Hart always writes *-ed* and *-ep* in the fully sounded verbal endings.<sup>1</sup>

We have further evidence of a diphthongal pronunciation in the isolated *ae* in *aehlþ* 'eighth' and in *ai* in half a dozen words (*auluai(s)*, generally *aulue'z*, *tfamberlain*, etc., § 24). With the exception of *painter* (but *pe'nted*) this *ai* only occurs in unstressed syllables, and there is, of course, a strong suspicion that it is merely the traditional spelling that has crept in through inadvertency on the part of the writer or printer. If these *ai*'s were really written deliberately they would seem to indicate that the

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<sup>1</sup> In the MS. of 1551 there may be a dim anticipation of the correct view, when he writes: "*ai* or *ay*, & *ei* or *ey*, the powers of which voels we now myx together confuzibli, making the sound of the same long *e*, and *not of any parfait diphthong*" though it must be confessed that he there seems to identify the sounds of *feare*, *faire*, *saieth*, *cheyne*, and *theym*.

first element of Hart's *e'i* must have been a very open sound, and perhaps [æ'i] would be the most adequate rendering in modern phonetic symbols.

We know from Hart's contemporary, Sir Thomas Smith (1568) that the pronunciation of the diphthong in question was rather unsettled in those times. His utterances on this question have been made conveniently accessible in Ellis's great work, I p. 120 ff., but their interpretation offers some difficulty. Setting aside his mention of Scotch and Northern pronunciation, he mentions three pronunciations.

I. His own, in which a distinction, though a very small one (*minima differentia*) is made between *ei* in *feign*, *dainty*, *paint*, *faint*, *neigh*, and *ai* in *pay*, *day*, *way*, etc. This distinction is now generally recognized as a purely artificial one, suggested to Smith by the spelling. In II and III the two diphthongs had become identical, as indeed they must have become long before Smith's time in natural Standard English.

II. The refined pronunciation, used by those mentioned in various places as "*mulierculæ quædam delicatiores, & nonnulli qui volunt isto modo videri loqui vrbanius,*" or as "*qui valde delicatè voces has pronuntiant, mulierculæ præsertim,*" or finally as "*fœminæ quædam delicatiores.*" As these expressions are nearly identical, we must suppose that the pronunciations Smith mentions in the three paragraphs are really the same. Now, in the first place, the pronunciation indicated is [ei] or [e'i], in the second, "*explicant planè Romanam diphthongum æe,*" and in the third *ei*. Ellis takes the reference to Latin *æe* to mean the monophthong [e]. Similarly Viëtor takes Smith's words to imply that some of these "finer ladies" pronounced

*ei*, and others Latin *ae*, i. e. [ɛ'], which latter pronunciation ("a still thinner") he identifies with Hart's monophthong *e'*. But Smith says nothing about his *mulierculæ* having two pronunciations differing in "thinness," and he expressly mentions *ae* as a diphthong. As he takes care to inform us that diphthongs are such simple things that "any boy from the street who has learnt his letters" will be able to explain them to you, he cannot have said "diphthong" if he meant "monophthong." In another passage (not quoted by Ellis) Smith speaks about the *oi*-diphthong, saying "*Alij easdem voces per œ Romanam scribunt diphthongum: boe toe coe. Et ita pronuntiant, vt intelligas diphthongum esse oe.*" Are we to suppose that *boy*, *toy*, *coy* were then by some pronounced with a monophthong? Evidently the two cases are parallel, and the solution seems to be that in Smith's (theoretical) pronunciation of Latin, *ae*, *oe* were diphthongs the final element of which was not [i], but [e]; *ae* probably to him meant [ɛ(·)e], and the 'feminine' pronunciation of *ay*, *ey* was [ɛ(·)i] ending in a wide or lowered *i*, that might even become [e], thus distinct in both elements from his third pronunciation. As regards quantity, it is true that Smith says "*In his est vtraque litera brevis apud vrbanius pronuntiantes,*" but as he writes "*fäin*<sup>1</sup> *libens ac volens,*" the first element may have been at least half-long, even if the length of the whole diphthong was less than with rustic speakers.

III. The rustic pronunciation. Those who pronounce thus are in the three passages called "*alij*," "*rustici*," and "*Eurosaxones populares mei rusticiores.*" The diphthong is

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<sup>1</sup> The diæresis with Smith indicates length.

in the first place described simply as *ai*, in the second he says: "Rustici vtranque aut extremam saltem literam longam sonantes, pinguem quendam odiosum, & nimis adipatum sonum reddunt: pāi, dāi, wāi, māi, lāi," and in the third, "nimis pingui & adipato sono, *way, day, pay*: vt etiam *tinnitum* illud *i* reddat in fine." What constitutes the "disagreeable fatness" of this sound, is evidently its drawling character combined with the greater, qualitative distance between its two elements. The first part is more open than in number II pronunciation<sup>1</sup>, and the second part is more distinctly an [i] (narrow), which produces a jingling effect. The first element was long, as clearly shown by the symbol *ä*. Ellis is doubtfully inclined to take Smith's word 'extremam' as meaning the first element, which is certainly very bold. It must mean the last element, whether this was really long, or whether its narrowness induced Smith to think it long, in the same manner as most English people hear a short narrow French, Scotch or Danish [i] as long. Possibly Smith did not turn his phrase very happily and meant by his 'saltem' merely what would be more logically expressed if he had said: "the rustics differ from refined people by making both elements long or at least by making the last one long," implying that the first element was long with everybody. This, however, is rather uncertain.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *ä* need not denote a full back [a], but may denote a sound like [æ] in Pres. E. *man* (long), as he uses the same symbol for Scotch "bän aut bean, stän aut stean" [= *bone, stone*] "*cuius sonus est intermedius inter a Romanum & e.*" This passage is important for the history of the special development of Scotch *a*; Luick (*Untersuchungen* p. 127) seems to have known only part of it.

<sup>2</sup> Gill has both *ai* and *äi* (*ä* = 'long a', probably [æ]) in many words (*day, clay, may, way, lay, pay, maid, praise* etc.), and *ai* in others (*faith, obey, paint, play, plain*, etc.).



Smith's utterances, thus interpreted, read pretty much like a description of the two pronunciations one may hear in London any day at the beginning of the twentieth century in the very same words, *day*, *way*, etc. (and in those with original long *a*, such as *paper*, *tale*), the refined diphthong beginning with [ɛ] and ending with [e] or a sound intermediate between [e] and [ɪ], and the vulgar beginning with a much opener sound [æ] or even [a] and having thus a much greater divergence between the starting point and the final sound. Only, nowadays, the two pronunciations are not distributed according to sex as they were in the sixteenth century if we are to believe Smith and Mulcaster<sup>1</sup> (as well as Gill's hints about 'mopseys'). Besides, the modern open diphthong seems to be a recent development rather than a survival of the old rusticism.

To return to Hart. His words seem to disprove Luick's theory, which at first blush looks very plausible, that the development of *ai* and 'long *a*' went hand in hand, the first element of the diphthong becoming fronted when [a] became a front vowel. (*Anglia* XIV, p. 273ff.), Harts [a] was back, his *day*-diphthong front. Luick overlooks the disagreement between his own contention that the fronting of *a* was found in the lower classes especially, and Smith's words about the more palatal pronunciation of the diphthong being characteristic of the more refined speakers.

I may bring this inquiry to a conclusion by saying that I am inclined to think the modern diphthongs [eɪ,

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<sup>1</sup> "ai, is the mans diphthong, & soundeth full: ei, the womans, and soundeth finish in the same both sense, and vse, a woman is deintie, and feinteth soon, the man fainteth not bycause he is nothing daintie." (Elementarie, 1582, p. 119.)



oʊ] in *day*, *know*, etc. are simply the unchanged representatives of the diphthongs of the sixteenth century. The generally accepted view is that the latter lost their diphthongic character when they became identical with the sounds in *name*, *so*, etc., and all these sounds together were again diphthongized in the nineteenth century. The only reason for this view that I am aware of is the fact that the sounds are not described as real diphthongs by grammarians between the period of the coalescence of *ā* and *ai* (and of *ō* and *ou*) and the nineteenth century. But this does not signify much, as all these grammarians had a very dull sense of hearing, and as diphthongs of that particular kind, with long first elements and with little distance in sound between the two elements<sup>1</sup>, are not easily distinguished from monophthongs. The diphthongic character of these sounds was independently discovered in the nineteenth century by several writers, first of all, if I am not mistaken, by T. Batchelor (*An Ortho-ëpical Analysis of the English Language* 1809), then by Thomas Wright Hill, the father of Sir Rowland Hill of Penny Post fame (*Lecture on the Articulations of Speech*, 1821, in *Selection from the Papers* of T. W. H. 1860)<sup>2</sup>, later by Rush (1827) and Smart (1838). And yet phoneticians and grammarians went on describing the sounds as monophthongs and as identical with French or German long *e*'s and *o*'s. Even such an eminent phonetician as Ellis, though admitting the frequency of the diphthong,

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<sup>1</sup> They may be called 'slow' diphthongs in contradistinction to such 'fast' diphthongs as modern [ai, au] in *high*, *how*, in which the movement of the tongue is made much more rapidly.

<sup>2</sup> See on Batchelor and Hill my *Fonetik* (Copenhagen 1897, p. 32 ff.), *Die neueren sprachen* XIII (1905) p. 404.

was deaf to it in his own pronunciation. I have before me a note I made on the 9th August 1887, when I had spent an interesting afternoon at his house with the Norwegian phonetician Western. "Ellis said that he made a distinction between *I say* [sei] and *I say so* [ai se' sou]; he maintained that he had a monophthong before consonants: [se'm]; both Western and I heard, however, invariably diphthongs in his pronunciation; also when he pronounced Latin *urbes* to us with his theoretical pronunciation, he said [urbe'is]" (the last word I wrote in *Visible Speech*). On later occasions, too, I noticed the same diphthongs in Ellis's speech, which have also been mentioned by Sweet and others. (Ellis's own view is found in *EEP*. IV p. 1111, cf. p. 1152 on *ou*). Thus no argument can be drawn from the silence of eighteenth century phoneticians. Cooper's words (1685, Ellis p. 126). "*Ai* leniùs prolata sonatur ut *a* in *cane*; fortius, plenum assumit sonum diphthongi *ai*; ut *brain*," etc. seem to indicate a double pronunciation of *ai*, one with a strongly pronounced diphthong (never found in the *a*-words), and another with a 'milder' diphthong (also found in the *a*-words). If the latter survived both for *ai* and for *a*, it is easy to understand that it escaped notice, till in the nineteenth century observers became more trained, and perhaps the two elements of the diphthongs [e'i] and [o'u] had been more clearly differentiated.

### ei, ou.

These two diphthongs, the regular developments of ME. long *i* and long *u*, modern [ai] and [au], need not detain us long. Viëtor's assumption that Shakespeare's sounds were [i] or [ij] in *by*, and [uu] or [uw] in *how*

leaves too little distance between these diphthongs and [i:] in *be* and [u:] in *too*: if they were so similar to one another we should expect continual overlappings and confusions. Besides, this opinion is chiefly based on descriptions in such old 'phoneticians' as had no clear idea of what constitutes a diphthong and were spelling-bound in their views on most points (Bullokar, etc.). Hart's notation (with [e] and [o], not [a]) probably showed the then prevalent pronunciation with fair exactness<sup>1</sup>; these two 'fast' diphthongs were easily kept apart from the 'slow' ones in *day* and *know* by having a short first element and a more rapid upward movement, probably also by having the first element closer.

The numeral *feivp* for 'fifth' (or 'fift') is an interesting analogical formation that I do not remember having seen elsewhere in the old grammars, though the NED. records spellings like *fyveth* from the 14th and 15th centuries.

Hart recognizes both *-lei* and *-li* for the ending *-ly*, which had in Middle English long and short *i* according to varying degrees of stress. In the same manner we find some endings with old *u* in a double form: *-ous* is either *-ous* with the diphthong and with the *s* which is due to (secondary) stress, or else *-uz* with both the vowel and consonant to be expected in a weak syllable.<sup>2</sup> The ending *-our* in *chancellor*, *emperor*, *error*, and *predecessor*, one might be inclined to take for the ordinary spelling

<sup>1</sup> On p. 35<sup>b</sup> he says: "The Dutch [= Germans] doe vse also au, ei, and ie, rightly as I do hereafter." If German *ei* was pronounced then as it is now, this would make Hart's *ei* more open than the symbol *e* indicates in itself.

<sup>2</sup> Voiced consonant after a weak vowel, voiceless consonant retained after a strong vowel, according to the parallel to Verner's Law which I have mentioned above p. 16.

without any phonetic value, were it not that Shakespeare once rimes *ours*: *progenitours* and that corresponding pronunciations are recorded by Gill and Bullokar (see Viëtor, l. c. § 63), and in the anonymous *Grammaire Angloise* (Paris 1625), which says: "De cette diphthongue *ou* [in *thousand*, etc.] deppend la terminaison *our*, qu'il faut prononcer comme en François *aouor*, comme si c'estoient trois syllables, exemple *our*, nostre: *sauïour* . . .".

In the group *igh* Hart has short *i* + *h* (§ 4), but for 'higher' he writes *heier*; here ME. had a voiced consonant between the two vowels.

#### au.

This diphthong has various sources, as is seen in the words *saw*; *cause*; *laugh*; *all*; *change*. In some of the words in which it corresponds to Anglo-French *au* before nasals, *a* too is found. *au* is found before *l* only in those cases where Present English has [ɔ'l] with *l* retained; *shaul* for 'shall', and *-aul* in *radikaul*, etc., represent the formerly frequent, but now extinct forms which would now have sounded [ʃɔ'l, -ɔ'l]; the weak-stress forms, which are also found in Hart, *fal* and *-al*, form the basis of the present pronunciation. Hart does not write *au* in those *l*-groups in which *l* has now disappeared: *chalk*, *half*; he writes *salt* instead of *sault* which we should have expected. His notations do not therefore throw much light on the difficult questions connected with this diphthong.

#### iu.

This group of letters has three values in Hart's books. As a consequence of his view that [j] is merely a non-syllabic [i], it may stand for [ju], which has now become [jʌ]; the only instance is *iung* 'young'. Then it may stand

for [i] + [u] in two separate syllables; thus in *komodiuzli*, *kuriuz*, and *notoriuzli*, where, however, it is not absolutely impossible that he pronounced [ju] in one syllable. While these two cases present no serious difficulty, the third case does, as most modern scholars have taken Harts *iu* in words like *use* to mean not a diphthong, but the sound [y'] with French *u*. This is done on the strength of one isolated passage, which it will therefore be necessary to examine as closely as possible. Unfortunately Hart's style shows nowhere to less advantage than in this important paragraph. To understand it, we must look at it in connection with all the related utterances in his book.

Hart sets his face against the "abuse" of the vowels, *i. e.* writing *a, e, i, o, u* for any other sound than the vowels [a, e, i, o, u]. With regard to *u*, he therefore disapproves of two things, the "abuse in sound" as in English *use* and the "abuse for the consonant" as in English *euer* for *ever*. Unfortunately these two 'abuses' are not always kept clearly apart in his remarks. On p. 31<sup>a</sup> he says that the French, the Spanish<sup>1</sup>, and the Brutes [*i. e.* Welsh] abuse *u* 'in sounde', while the French, the Spanish, the Germaine and Italian, but not the auncient Brutes, abuse it for the consonant *v*. After some remarks on the similar double abuse of the letter *i* (for *j* and for [ei]) we come upon the famous passage (reprinted, with some slight

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<sup>1</sup> Hart is not consistent on this point; in some passages he says or seems to say that Spanish *u* is abused in sound, but on p. 34<sup>b</sup> he says (correctly) that the Spanyard "abuseth" it "with vs and the Scottish, but not generally as the French doe," that is, *u* with them means *v*, but not the French vowel. On p. 33<sup>a</sup>, the French, Scottish, and Brutes, but not the Spaniards, are mentioned as having the wrong vowel sound of the *u*.



alterations, by Ellis, p. 167, and, after him, by Sweet, HES. p. 250):

“Now to come to the u. I sayde the French, Spanish, and Brutes, I maye adde the Scottish, doe abuse it with vs in sounde, and for consonant, except the Brutes as is sayd: the French doe neuer sounde it right [*i. e.* for the sound u], but vsurpe ou, for it, the Spanyard doth often vse it right as we doe, but often also abuse it with vs: the French and the Scottish in the sounde of a Diphthong<sup>1</sup>: which keeping the vowels in their due sounds [that is, if we write them with the value of the letters that Hart advocates], commeth of i, and u, (or verie neare it) [this restriction is most important] is made and put together vnder one breath, confounding the soundes of i, and u, together: which you may perceyue in shaping thereof, if you take away the inner part of your tongue, from the vpper teeth or Gummes, then shall you sound the u, right, [this, then, is a description of *u*, but not as part of the French sound] or in sounding the French and Scottish u<sup>2</sup>, holding still your tongue to the vpper teeth or gums, and opening your lippes somewhat, you shall perceyue the right sounde of i.”

These last few lines describe accurately the formation of [y] as containing an articulation of the tongue, which is kept near the upper teeth or gums, and a lip-element, so that if—in modern phraseology—you unround the sound the result is an [i]. But there are two things that are not clear. First, does this describe the whole sound as invariable from beginning to end? Then why call it a diphthong? Or is it only one element of the diphthong?

<sup>1</sup> In the margin: *iu, diphthong.*

<sup>2</sup> In the margin: *iu, diphthong reduced into his elements.*

That this is Hart's meaning, might *perhaps* be inferred from the word "holding still": then we might paraphrase: "if instead of moving your tongue you isolate the beginning of the diphthong and unround it, you will find that it is really an [i]." This would be tantamount to a diphthong [yu]. There is no doubt of the French sound having been then, as it is now, the monophthong [y] and not [yu], but what concerns us here is Hart's conception of the sound, which may, of course, have been wrong.

The second thing that is not quite clear, is this: does Hart's description apply to the French (and Scottish) sound only, or to the English *u* in *use* as well? English is not mentioned here, and in other places, too, where we might expect Hart to mention English *u*, he seems to avoid it. Thus, on p. 65<sup>a</sup>, while mentioning the French orthography, he says "ð'abius ov ðe u, in ðe skotif leik sound ov ðe iu diphthong," where it would have been more natural to mention the English sound, if he had considered them exactly alike. On p. 35<sup>b</sup> he speaks of Dutch, *i. e.* High German "ü, in the sound of iu, or the French and Scottish u." It is not impossible that in 1569 Hart more or less dimly perceived a difference between his English 'iu' and French and Scottish *u*, though in 1551 he expressly identified English *you* with the sound in Fr. *fust* and Sc. *gud*. At any rate his words are too obscure to be taken as decisive evidence of the existence of the sound [y] in English. If they are so taken, I do not see how we shall avoid the consequence that the sound [ø] (mid-front-round) existed also in his pronunciation, for on p. 35<sup>b</sup>, immediately before the passage just quoted on ü, he says. [German] "ö in the sound œ or eu."<sup>1</sup> It appears to me

<sup>1</sup> In his French transcriptions we find *sieuz* 'cieux' and *seuz* 'ceux'.

much more probable that Hart really pronounced [iu] in *use* (and [eu] in *few*) and that he felt at first, and never entirely overcame, the difficulty experienced by most of his countrymen in appreciating rounded front vowels, when heard in French and other languages. If Hart had really had the vowel [y] in his natural language, he would not have used two letters for it, but would rather have devised a new letter analogous to his consonantal letters.

This is perhaps confirmed by the sentence quoted above, p. 34, in which *you* is given as an example of the second class of diphthongs, consisting of one short and another long vowel: *iu*; on the same page, *you* is once more written *iu*. The same notation, with long *u*, is found once in *triu* 'true' and once in *vertiu* 'virtuous'. But these are the only instances of the diphthong, whether in *you* or in *use*, etc., in which any mark of length is found. I take *iu* therefore to be one of those only approximately exact notations which may be found in most phonetic texts of tolerable length, even the best, and which are sometimes due to carelessness, sometimes used deliberately for convenience' sake where the writer sees that no misreading is possible.<sup>1</sup> Consequently I am inclined to read Hart's *iu* as [iu] in all the cases with which we are here concerned, that is, wherever it corresponds to French *u* (*ui*) or to OE. *iw*, *ew* (also in *iū* 'youth').

On the whole, I very much doubt the existence in Modern English and even in Middle English of the high-

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<sup>1</sup> Thus Sweet in his *Elementarbuch* does not indicate the difference between the [o] of [not] and [nou], the final unvoicing in [kaadz], the difference in length between [veig] and [meik] or between [send] and [sent], though he mentions all these points in describing the sounds.

front-round vowel [y].<sup>1</sup> Old French *u* from Latin *ū* was probably at once imitated by the English in an imperfect manner, as the sound itself was unknown in England. (See H. Möller's important arguments, reported by Hoofe, *Engl. Studien* VIII, 241.) The diphthong used as a substitute may roughly be written [iu]; at first it was probably pronounced as a level-stress diphthong (schwebender diphthong)<sup>2</sup>, in which neither element preponderated; later the second element became lengthened and was made the 'top' of the syllable as in Present English [juː, juw], while in America the old level-stress diphthong may be still heard very frequently. But all English-speaking people except the very tip-top phoneticians invariably imagined, and still imagine, their [iu] or [juː] to be an exact rendering of French *u* [y(ː)], just as Russians and other people do who have no front-round vowels in their own vernacular.<sup>3</sup>

If this simple and perfectly natural theory is not the one accepted by most students of the history of English, the reason is the evidence found in the early authorities on English pronunciation. Now, this evidence (see especially Ellis p. 163 ff., Sweet, HES. § 861 ff.) is of a very

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<sup>1</sup> Apart from those southern dialects in which OE. *y* was retained in the beginning of the Middle English period.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, 1904, § 214.

<sup>3</sup> The second element is now often pronounced not as a back-round, but as a mixed-round vowel [ü], closely similar to Norwegian *hus*. Some people even retain this mixed vowel where the [i] or [j] has been lost, thus pronouncing [ˈtrüː, blüː, tʃüː, dʒüː] for *true, blue, chew, Jew* (Lehrbuch der Phon. § 157). This mixed pronunciation may be a survival of an old pronunciation. But it is true that others have a pure back round vowel in *true*, etc., so that with them *rheum* and *room* have the same vowel.

perplexing character owing to numerous contradictory statements found even in the words of one and the same old grammarian.<sup>1</sup> The latest attempt to explain them is that of Luick (*Anglia* XIV, 287). He says that as many early authorities identify English and French *u*, while others describe a diphthongic pronunciation, both pronunciations [y] and [iu] (or some other similar diphthong) must have obtained at the same time, the former among the upper and the latter among the lower classes; though [iu] finally extended itself to all classes of the people.

This solution appears to me very far from convincing. It is not in itself an ordinary occurrence for two strata of a nation to have thus two distinct pronunciations of a particular sound for a couple of centuries; at any rate I do not remember a single instance in any language. But it is even more improbable that this class distinction should have existed for two centuries without being once mentioned or even hinted at in any one of the numerous works on English pronunciation produced in the period, although many of them give us abundant information on provincialisms and vulgarisms. Instead of distributing the authors of these works into two groups representing different social strata—some are even said to belong to one stratum with regard to *u* and to another with regard to

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<sup>1</sup> Let me quote one specimen, which has, I believe, escaped notice, but which is typical of the kind of expressions found in most of these 'authorities'. Howell (*A new English Grammar*, 1662, p. 14) says: "The English pronounce oftentimes *u* like the French, in a whistling manner, which sound is quite differing from the Spaniard and Italian, who prolate it in a manner like *oo*, as *uno* . . . But the English and French pronounce *u* as if it were the Diphthong *eu*, as *Cocu* a Cuckold is pronounced as if it were written *Cokew*; Cubit Kewbit, etc."



other sounds—it seems much more natural to say that some knew the correct French sound well enough to distinguish it from the English, and others not, while on this particular point our friend Hart represents, perhaps, an intermediate state of phonetic knowledge.

Luick's list of old authors in favour of [y] is imposing enough numerically, but less so if we look more closely into what they actually say. PALSGRAVE (1530) is the first; but in his words (as quoted by Ellis, p. 137, 163, and by Sweet, p. 249) I find only one thing about English *u*, namely that it was different from the French. On the other hand he says that Fr. *u* (and *eu* in some words) was like E. *ew* in *rewe* an herbe, a *mew* for a hauke [both from Fr. *u*], a *clew* of threde, *trew* [both with E. diphthong]. Perhaps the words "resting upon the pronounsing of hym" may mean "more monophthongic in Fr." CHEKE (1555) says "Cum igitur *duke*, *tuke*, *lute*, *rebuke*,  $\delta\upsilon\kappa$ ,  $\tau\upsilon\kappa$ ,  $\lambda\upsilon\tau$ ,  $\rho\epsilon\beta\upsilon\kappa$  dicimus, Græcum  $\upsilon$  sonamus" and that Greek  $\upsilon$  "simplex est, nihil admixtum, nihil alienum adjunctum habet."<sup>1</sup> This would be explicit if we could be certain that Cheke did not share the usual misconception that what is expressed by means of one letter must be also one simple sound. If SMITH's *dūk* (1568) for *duke* is to be taken = [dy'k], then we must necessarily take his *yew*, *snew*, *slew*, *truc*, *bluc* to be sounded [y', sny', sly', try', bly'], for he clearly identifies the sound of all these words. HART is the next authority alleged for [y]. Then comes BULLOCK who is so confused on most points that his short remark on the identity of Fr. and English *u* carries no weight. COTGRAVE (1611) describes the sound "as if you whistle it out"; this

<sup>1</sup> Ellis p. 165 leaves out the words *igitur* and *alienum*, and prints *sonaremus*.

expression, which is found in other authors as well, does not prove much, cf. Howell *supra*. GILL (1619, 1621) is, as Sweet remarks, "not very definite"; if his *v* in *vz* 'use' means [y], then his *nv* 'new' also must mean [ny]. Gill has no clear conception of diphthongs, cf. his typically vague expressions about his *j* in *sjn* 'sign' (Jiriczek p. 24.17). Besides, we have Gill's distinct statement that he preferred writing one single letter even where he admitted the sound to be composite (Nos autē in vocibus describendis, non simplices sonos distrahimus; sed distractos potius in vnum coniungimus, p. 14.5). G. du GRÈS (1636) identifies Fr. *u* with English *u* in *lute*, *duke*, with Scotch *gud* and with German *W*; this is not calculated to inspire us with confidence. WALLIS (1653) is really the most important witness for [y], because he was on the whole a good phonetician, though it must be admitted that his definitions of vowels and his general scheme of vowels contain several obscure points. He says that it is formed in the lips, but with smaller aperture than for [u]; he identifies the Fr. and the Engl. sound and then says that foreigners can obtain about the same sound by trying to pronounce the diphthong *iu*; if they place a thin *i* before *u* or *w*, as in Spanish *ciudad*, the result is only a little removed from the Engl. sound, which is, however, a simple sound, while *iu* is compound. Later he says again that it is a sound almost composed of *i* and *w* (sono nempe quasi composito ex *i* and *w*). Thus Wallis emphasizes the similarity to [iu] so much as almost to make a diphthongic pronunciation indubitable; he evidently started from the belief that the letter represented a single sound and stuck to this idea in spite of direct observation showing him that the best manner of

teaching the sound to foreigners was to make them pronounce  $i + u$  or  $w$ ; some slight difference that he heard between the English and the Spanish diphthong confirmed him in his cherished idea.<sup>1</sup>

Luick thinks that the [y] pronunciation disappeared in the eighteenth century; as the last representative he mentions STEELE: "Noch Steele 1775 kennt den franz. *ü*-laut in einigen wörtern 'in the more refined tone of the court' (Ellis 1058)." But Steele's words are: "the English seldom or never sound the U in the French tone . . . except in the more refined tone of the court, where it *begins to obtain* in a few words." Accordingly, this is not a last survival of an old pronunciation, but a new fashion coming in and seizing only upon a few words, probably those felt to be recent loans. In the same manner educated people may now be heard to use the correct French sound in such words as *résumé*, *cul-de-lampe*, *édition de luxe*, *sansculotte*; but this of course proves nothing with regard to the fully naturalized words.

I must here also mention BARET (1573), who says that some think this  $u$  to be rather a diphthong than a vowel, "being compounded of our English  $e$  [=  $i$ ] and  $u$ , as indeed we may partly perceyue in pronouncing it, our tongue at the beginning lying flat in our mouth, and at the end rising up with the lips also therewithall somewhat more drawn together." This I read as a description of [iu], no whit worse than most phonetic descriptions of that century; if Baret concentrated his attention on the upward movement of the *back* of the tongue necessary for [u], he might very well describe the position for [i].

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also what Wallis says about the *ew*-diphthongs (EEP. 139).

as he does. At any rate we have everything that constitutes a diphthong, and that diphthong has decidedly two things in common with [iu], namely some movement of the tongue and a contraction of the lips in the second element. But Ellis says that the only interpretation he can put on this "somewhat confused description is, that Baret was speaking of the [neutral] position of the tongue *before* commencing to utter any sound, and that when the sound was uttering, the tongue [Ellis means the front part, but why that more than the back?] rose and the lips rounded simultaneously," making [y]. In spite of Dr. Sweet's approval (HES. § 867) I think this a specimen of how *not* to interpret an old author's words.

Nor do I think Ellis's interpretation of HOLDER very satisfactory. The passage in question is reprinted, though not very accurately, in EEP. p. 178. It is not very clear, but after several careful readings I understand it to mean that in Holder's *u* (his test word being *rule*) the articulation of *i* (in *eel*, *ill*) was followed by a labial articulation. It is true that there are expressions that would seem to show that the two articulations were simultaneous; but this was probably a mere self-delusion, and the words that point to sequence in time are really more decisive. The most important passage is the following (Elements of Speech. 1669, p. 88):

"And in this, *æ* and *u* are peculiar, that they are framed by a *double motion* of Organs, that of the Lip, added to that of the Tong; and yet either of them is a single Letter, and not two, because the motions are at the same time, and not successive, as are *eu. pla. etc.* Yet for this reason they seem *not* to be *absolutely so simple* Vowels as the rest, because the voice passeth *successively*

from the Throat to the Lips in *ɜ*, and from the Palat to the Lips in *u*, being there *first* moulded into the figures of *oo* and *i*, *before* it be fully Articulated by the Lips . . . . I have been inclin'd to think, there is no Labial Vowel, but that the same affection from the Lips may, *somewhat in the nature of a Consonant*, be added to every of the Vowels, but most subtly, and aptly to two of them, whose Figures are in the extrems in respect of Aperture and Situation," i. e. to *oo* and *i*.

I have here italicized what seems to speak most in favour of my theory. What is indubitable, is that Holder's *i* is made into his *u*, and his *oo* (in *fool*, *full*; *cut*, *coot*; *tut*, *toot*) into his *ɜ* (in *two*, which is unfortunately the only example given) by the addition of the same labial element. Ellis thinks that this addition is "rounding," that is a *simultaneous* lip-action, and says that Holder "very acutely anticipated Mr. M. Bell's separation of the lingual and labial passages, and the possibility of adding a labial passage to every lingual one." But this view obliges Ellis to say that as Holder's *oo* was = his *ɜ* *minus* rounding, he must have meant it to be the high-back-*unround* vowel, though Ellis admits that it is impossible to believe that *fool* was ever pronounced with that very rare and very difficult vowel. My own interpretation is that we have in both cases a labial vowel, approaching a consonant, that is [u] or [w], added *after* the vowel, making [i] into [iu] and [u(·)] into [u(·)w]. There is now no difficulty in Holder's statement that this element can be added to any vowel, while it is not easy to add rounding to a vowel that is already rounded, as [o] was according to Holder's own description. If I am right, Holder is the first to discover the diphthongic character of the vowel in



*two*, described by Batchelor and Sweet as [uw], and it is not strange that he should have discovered it in the case of a final vowel only; cf. Ellis on the similar diphthong [ei].

These then, are the witnesses for [y]; they are, as we have seen, none of them very precise, and their evidence may even partly be construed in favour of [iu]. On the other hand, some of the witnesses on the opposite side leave little to be desired. DESAINLIENS (Holliband, 1566, see EEP. 838 and 228 note) says, "we [French] do thinke that when Englishmen do profer ,v, they say, you: and for q, we suppose they say kiou: but we sound ,v, without any helpe of the tongue, ioyning the lips as if you would whistle; and after the manner that the Scots do sound Gud." MASON'S *Grammaire Angloise* (1622) gives *kyou*, *you*, *doulion*, *nion* and *nious* as (French) transcriptions of the names of the letters *q*, *v* (*u*), *w*, and of the words *new*, *news*. If he gives elsewhere *iu* as a transcription of *u*, in *muse*, etc., I agree with Western (*Engl. Studien* 36. 125) in rejecting the pronunciation [iy] which Mason's editor Brotanek supposes him to have signified: in these words Mason was led astray by the orthography, while in giving the pronunciation of *q*, etc., he had to trust his ears exclusively; at any rate his *iu* shows that the sound was not simply identical with French *u* [y]. An *Alphabet Anglois* contenant la prononciation des lettres avec les declinaisons & coniugations (Paris 1625, in the Bodleian) gives Q. quiou. V. you. W. double you. Another *Grammaire Angloise*. Povr facilement et promptement apprendre la langve Angloise (Paris 1625, ibd., by the same author?) says: "V se prononce quasi comme O, comme Vp . . . . Quelques fois iou, comme *vse*, iouse: *abuse* *abiousse*: *sute*

sjoute." It will be seen that if English people were apt to identify French *u* [y] with their own sound, the French themselves, just as in our own days, heard the difference very clearly! ERONDELL (1605), though not very explicit (see HES. § 869), yet clearly states that the English *u* in *murtherer* is nearer to the sound in French *unir*, *musique* than the ordinary English sound in *music*, etc. BUTLER (1633) says that "ee and *i* short with *u*, have the veri sound of *u* long: as in *hiw*, *kneew*, *true* appeereth." (other examples of the same sound *due*, *rue*, *sue*, *stue*, *blue*, etc.) and in another place "*ie*, as the vouel *ee* (whose sound it hath) before *w*, is short: as in *view*, *lieu*." This I take as indicating [iu], though Ellis (p. 171) thinks it possible that Butler may have said [y]. PRICE (1668) says that *u* is "long as in *lute*, *muse*, *refuse* as if it were the compound of *iw*."

But an even better witness than all these<sup>1</sup> is that excellent phonetician John WILKINS (1668), whom it is rather curious to see ranged among vulgar speakers (he was warden of Wadham College, Oxford, master of Trinity, Cambridge, one of the founders of the Royal Society, and died as Bishop of Chester!) He says: "As for the third of the *Labials*, the *u Gallicum*, or *whistling u*, though it cannot be denied to be a distinct simple vowel; yet it is of so laborious and difficult pronunciation to all those Nations amongst whom it is not used (as to the English) especially in the distinction of long and short, and framing of Diphthongs, that though I have enumerated it with the rest, and shall make provision for the expression of

<sup>1</sup> Better also than the Welsh writers who transcribe *uw*, which is a diphthong though it seems difficult to ascertain exactly what was the first element of it.

it, yet shall I make less use of it, than of the others; and for that reason, not proceed to any further explication of it." In another place he says that "(u) is (I think) proper to the *French*, and used by none else." It is not quite correct when Ellis says that the only word which contains long *u* that Wilkins transliterates, is *communion*; he writes the three words as 'you', crassified 'crucified', and *camunion* with the same diphthong; ʒ is his sign for the sound that is found short in *full*, long in *boote*, *foole*, etc. and that he identifies with French *ou*.

If the view here advanced is correct, the difference between the two fellow-collegians Wilkins and Wallis, which Ellis finds 'striking' (EEP. 176, cf. also Viëtor, l. c. 29), is thus reduced to a perfectly natural difference in the perception of a foreign sound or in familiarity with French pronunciation, while both had the same English diphthong.

The same diphthong may confidently be assumed for Shakespeare's pronunciation, as shown by his rimes *you: do*, *suing: wooing*, *abuse it: lose it*, though generally the [iu]-words rime only with one another<sup>1</sup>—both facts easily explicable on the hypothesis of a wavering or level-stress diphthong, in which occasionally at least the second element predominated. Similar rimes are found in contemporary poets, in Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* for instance *you: sue: knew*, *yew: rew* ('rue' verb), *you: true*, *you: sue*, *hew* ('hue'): *you*, *ewe: hew* ('hue'), *true:*

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<sup>1</sup> Viëtor (l. c. 32) explains the rime *you: do* as based on the unstressed [u(˘)] of [iu], and the stressed [uː] of *do*. But in the line in question (*Mach.* III. 5. 13 *Loues for his own ends, not for you*) *you* is emphatic.

adieu, true: view, true: you, you: thereto, youth: truth, you: new: true.

Finally I may say that the [y]-theory implies certain difficulties which we avoid if we adopt the view here advocated. It is not probable that words like *new*, *yew*, etc. should have had first the diphthong, then the monophthong, and then again the diphthong (cf. Smith and others, above). [iu] seems necessary to explain the development of [ʃ, ʒ] in *sure*, *pressure*, *measure*, etc. just as in *impression*, *vision*, etc. If [y] had been an alternative pronunciation, we should have expected [s, z] to have remained unchanged at least in the pronunciation of some people. On every point the [iu]-theory seems natural and consistent, while any supposition of [y] as the pronunciation of some particular period of Middle or Modern English or of some particular social stratum involves us in complications and difficulties.

### Other diphthongs and triphthongs.

The rest of the diphthongs and triphthongs, see word-lists 6, 7, 8, 16, 17, 18, 31, 38, 39, really present some very intricate problems; but as the material offered by Hart for a satisfactory solution is comparatively scanty, I shall refrain from discussing them here.

### Gill's criticism.

We are now in a position to form a judgment of the correctness of Gill's often-quoted remarks on Hart, which have served as basis for the common depreciation of our author's pronunciation. The passage is found in Jiriczek's edition, p. 13. Gill is speaking about the previous attempts to improve English spelling, more parti-

cularly about the necessity of having new letters. He mentions Smith's endeavours and approves of Mulcaster's criticism that Smith's new letters are neither pretty to look at nor easy to write. Then he goes on to say that Hart (Chester) tried as well as he could to remedy that defect; but, besides leaving out some very necessary letters, he aimed not at following our language by his letters, but at leading it. (Sed ille, præterquam quòd nonnullas literas ad vsum pernecessarias omisit, sermonem nostrum characteribus suis non sequi, sed ducere meditabatur). Now, it is quite possible that these words apply rather to Hart's new letters than to his pronunciation; the whole context and the words *characteribus suis* seem to point in that direction.<sup>1</sup> But let us grant that the interpretation given by Ellis and all his followers is correct and that Gill really blamed Hart for favouring a pronunciation that was just coming in (for Gill cannot have thought of Hart as inventing totally unheard-of pronunciations and expecting his countrymen to follow him!) and of thus disregarding the older and more conservative type of pronunciation preferred by Gill. Whether or not Gill's words will bear that interpretation, it will not be amiss to examine Hart's pronunciation from that point of view. In the following points Hart represented a pronunciation that was going out of use at the end of the sixteenth century:

the back quality of [a] and [a'],

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<sup>1</sup> In like manner his words on Bullokar (Bulokerus vt paucula mutavit, sic multa fideliter emendavit) must refer to the *letters* and not to pronunciation: B. introduced few new letters and merely corrected the traditional spelling (by means of his dots and accents) while keeping it faithfully in the main.



the occasional [e] in the ending *-te*, *-ty*, and in  
*country*,  
 the retention of the voiceless open consonant, where  
 the ordinary spelling has *gh*,  
 the retention of *l* before *f* and *k*,  
 the frequency of weak *e* in the endings *-ed* and *-es*,  
 probably also the [i'] in *title*, etc., see p. 28,  
 [au] in *answer*, *change*, etc., and [eau] in *beauty*.

In some at least of these points Hart was more conservative than Gill, who, for instance, did not pronounce *l* in the position mentioned, though he kept it in his spelling. On the whole the difference in pronunciation (not spelling!) between the elder and the younger man is exactly such as we should expect considering the interval of fifty years between their books. But I am at a loss to point out a single instance in which Hart's pronunciation could with certainty be said to anticipate changes that took place later, or even to represent a change just then beginning or found in vulgar speech only (except, perhaps, *huol* and the solitary instance of *uonli*).

Gill goes on to mention fifteen words in Hart's spelling to which he takes exception: "Non nostras hic voces habes, sed Mopsarum fictitias." That is to say in plain English, they are slovenly and effeminate forms. His examples are all of them taken from one page in Hart's book, and perhaps his objection to them would have been modified, had he read the whole of the book carefully. In six of the words (*pray*, *way*, *say*, *they*, *may*, *said*) we have Hart's [e']—by Gill printed *e* as if it were short—instead of the diphthong; in one word (*known*) similarly [o'] instead of [o'u]. In the latter case we know

that Hart's pronunciation agreed exactly with Gill's and that he had himself changed his notation in *M*, which Gill did not know; and I have tried to prove that in the [e'i] diphthong, too, the disagreement between them was only apparent. In *of* and *with* Gill cannot have considered Hart's pronunciation as particularly "mopsey"-like, as in another passage he indicates the pronunciation with final voiced consonant [ov, wið] as the ordinary one, and says that the other is not heard except sometimes when learned people are reading aloud; here Hart really represents an older stage of the language since he naturally pronounced [of, wiþ] before a word beginning with a voiceless consonant. In *you* and *use* Hart's *iu* probably meant exactly the same sound as Gill had, and the same is undoubtedly the case with regard to Hart's [ei] for *I*. Hart's *u* in *we* (and *with*) is only another manner of writing Gill's *w*, and now we have only three words left, *answer*, where H's *au* indicates an old-fashioned pronunciation (corresponding to Gill's own *aunt* for *ant*), *reading* with [i']—not, as Gill prints it, short [i]—(which I have explained above), and [bue'] for *boy* (which I cannot explain, see § 38). The real differences are therefore very small indeed, and Gill was probably induced to use the word *Mopsarum* by Hart's [e'] (which he misinterpreted) and by the [i'] in *reading*, which he erroneously thought an instance of the general change of [e'] to [i'], which was unknown to Hart's time and in Gill's time was only just coming in. On p. 33 Gill specially mentions "pugostóloi nostræ Mopsæ" as making everything thinner and saying, among other things, [ke'pn] for [ka'pn] *capon*, [mi't] for [me't] *meat*, and [me'dz, ple'] for [maidz, plai] *maids*, *play*. But Hart's case is quite different, since

he kept [e'] and [i'] neatly distinct and did not confound *a* in *capon* and *ai* in *maid*.

My conclusion therefore is, that too much importance has of late been attached to Gill's inconsiderate attack on Hart, and that the latter deserves a place of honour as the best representative in the sixteenth century of good, educated English Pronunciation.

### Luick on Hart.

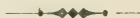
My final view is thus very far removed from that of Luick, who, after mentioning Palsgrave, Salesbury, Smith, and Bullokar as the chief authorities for the sixteenth century, goes on to say (*Untersuchungen zur engl. lautgeschichte* 1896, p. 11): "Ihnen würde Hart anzureihen sein, wenn er nicht so sehr in seiner tendenz befangen wäre. Es kommt ihm darauf an, die echten und wahren lautwerte der fünf vokalzeichen zu ermitteln und sie womöglich wiederherzustellen." I do not see how he could be biassed in his presentment of English pronunciation by his purely scientific endeavours to find out how the vowels were pronounced by the ancient Romans. Nor does he deserve blame for then applying this knowledge in settling the values in which to use the letters in phonetic writing. He was only doing much what most phoneticians of note do nowadays. In another place (p. 183) Luick says that Hart is "im groben irrthum" when he identifies *ai* and long *ε*. Luick gives a very different explanation of this identification from the one attempted in this paper. Hart "will die sprache meistern [no one who has read him carefully will believe that], womöglich die 'wahren und alten laute' der fünf vokalzeichen wieder herstellen. Das *ā*, welches er meines erachtens für

*ā* und *ai* sprach, konnte er daher nicht als selbständigen laut anerkennen, sondern schlug es zu dem ja nahestehenden *ē* (für me. *ē*), sobald es *ai* geschrieben wurde, aber natürlich nicht dort, wo es *ā* wiedergab." Such a line of thought is utterly foreign to Hart's nature. If he had pronounced *ā* and *ai* alike, he would have written them alike. He was an honest scholar who knew what he was about, and that was, in his own words:

"to vse as many letters in our writing, as we doe voyces or breathes in speaking, and no more: and neuer to abuse one for another, and to write as we speake: which we must needes doe if we will euer haue our writing perfite." (p. 6<sup>a</sup>.)

Let me end by quoting Hart's true words about his own work (p. 3<sup>a</sup>):

"I trust it may doe some good (though not in my dayes) to the posteritie, for whose sakes I thinke my labour well bestowed."



## Word-Lists.

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In the following lists, as in the quotations contained in the preceding disquisition, I have given Hart's own spelling with the following changes: *tʃ*, *dʒ* are substituted for Hart's looped *C* and *z*; *p* and *ð* for his looped *t* and *d*; *l* is printed for his looped *l* as Hart himself did in *M* (see p. 12). Further I have not here reproduced Hart's superfluous and inconsistently used acute accent to denote shortness; it would only have complicated matters (*discretion*, for instance, is written *diskresion* twice, *diskrésion* once, but both writings denote exactly the same sounds). The dot which Hart prints under the letter, is here for convenience sake placed after the letter.

The order followed is *i, e, a, o, u*, consonants; after each vowel are given in separate lists the diphthongs beginning with the same vowel. In order not to swell the lists some of the *h* and *r*-groups have been put down in separate lists. In each list the words are arranged alphabetically according to the received spelling. The instances of some frequent endings, such as *-li*, *-lei*, *-ed*, *-es*, have been collected into separate subordinate lists. Each list comprises all the words containing the sound concerned, and all except the very shortest words therefore occur in more than one of the lists. As for words spelled in more ways than one the number of times each spelling occurs is indicated, + signifying "frequently."

The following abbreviations have been used

A: dot (mark of length) erroneously omitted in Hart.

B: reminiscence of traditional spelling.

C: other misprints.

D: doublets, cf. p. 14 ff.

M: *Methode* (1570).

OM: both in *Orthographie* (1569) and *M*.

Words without the letters M or OM are found in *Orthographie* alone.



## § 1. i· (long).

|                                      |                                       |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| api·r, -d                            | ilmi· M (= ?)                         |
| appiring M                           | ki·p OM, -ing O                       |
| aspi·r, -d, -ing, cf. p. 28          | li·kt 1 B? cf. ei § 15                |
| bi· M +, bi·ing O +, cf. i, e        | li·v 1, cf. i § 2                     |
| § 2, 11                              | mi· O 1, M 2, mi O 2, M 3             |
| bili·f M                             | (unstressed) D, me O 1 B              |
| bili·v OM                            | mi·t adj.                             |
| bisi·tʃ, -ing M                      | mi·ter, -s                            |
| bli·s (= <i>bless</i> vb.) C?, cf. e | ni· M (= ?)                           |
| § 11                                 | ni·d                                  |
| bodi· 1, bodi 2, boddi M             | ni·dful                               |
| bri·ðrn M (= <i>brethren</i> )       | ni·dl M                               |
| bri·fli 1, brieffi 2 B, cf. § 7      | ni·ds                                 |
| tʃi·r                                | pri·st                                |
| tʃi·z                                | prosi·deth (B <i>th</i> for p)        |
| tʃi·fest                             | kui·n M                               |
| tʃeritri·                            | ri·d +, -ing + (= <i>read</i> p. 27)  |
| kli·n (= <i>clean</i> NB.)           | si·, si·n, si·ing                     |
| deri·vd +, derivd 2 A; cf. p. 28     | si·k (= <i>seek</i> )                 |
| devi·zd 1, cf. ei § 15               | si·m, -d                              |
| i·l M (= <i>eel</i> )                | ʃi· O 2, M 1, ʃi O 2 D                |
| i·vn 2, cf. i § 2                    | spi·tʃ, -es                           |
| exersi·z, -ez, -ing; cf. p. 28       | spi·di, -er                           |
| fi·dr M                              | (in) sti·d (ov, = <i>stead</i> p. 27) |
| for·ti·p (= <i>foreteeth</i> )       | stri·ks (= <i>streaks</i> pl.)        |
| gi·v O + (gi·vn O 1, dot             | sui·tnes                              |
| doubtful), cf. i § 2                 | ti·p                                  |
| gri·k, -s                            | ði· M                                 |
| hi· O 2, M 4; cf. i § 2              | pi·f M, thi·f O (B <i>th</i> for p)   |
| hi·l M 1 (= <i>heel</i> ), cf. i § 2 | pri· OM                               |
| houb·it (= <i>howbeit</i> )          | ti·tl, -s; cf. p. 28                  |

|                           |                                        |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| tri' (in t/eritri')       | ui't+ ( <i>to wit</i> ), cf. i § 2. In |
| undiskri't                | the old-spelling part, Hart            |
| ui' M 2, cf. i § 2        | writes <i>to weete</i>                 |
| ui'ri M (= <i>weary</i> ) | i' (= <i>ye</i> )                      |
| uili' M (= Willy?)        |                                        |

## § 2. i (short) stressed.

Cf. ih § 4, ir § 5.

|                                                    |                                               |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| abridgment, -s                                     | dik (= <i>Dick</i> )                          |
| afinite                                            | did OM                                        |
| bi O+, M 2 (= <i>be</i> , NB. unstressed), cf. § 1 | diferens, -es                                 |
| bin O+ (= <i>been</i> )                            | difering                                      |
| begin, -ep, -ing                                   | dilidzent                                     |
| betuikst 1, betuixt+                               | dimini'                                       |
| bil                                                | diphongs 3, diphthong 3                       |
| bring, bringing                                    | distans                                       |
| sichore (= <i>chicory</i> )                        | divers+, diuers 1 (B <i>u</i> for <i>v</i> ), |
| t/fild 1, t/eild 1, t/filder O 1,                  | cf. § 15 ei; first syllable                   |
| t/fildrn M 1                                       | probably unstressed                           |
| khrist O 1, krist M 2 (= <i>Christ</i> )           | diverslei 2, deiverslei 1 (prob. unstr.)      |
| kommit M                                           | est-uind                                      |
| konsider, -dered, -dred                            | ingland                                       |
| kontiniual                                         | ingli' adj. & vb.                             |
| kontiniu 2, kontiniued 2,                          | epistls                                       |
| kontinued 1 B                                      | ivl M 1, A? (= <i>evil</i> )                  |
| definision                                         | ivn 1, iven 1 A, cf. i' § 1                   |
| delivr M                                           | figiur, -s                                    |
| derivd 1, cf. i' § 1                               | figured B?                                    |
| derision                                           | filbert M                                     |
| deziruz 1 B, cf. ei § 15                           | fi'                                           |
|                                                    | fit                                           |

|                                             |                                                                         |
|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| fitli 1, -lei 1                             | inuard                                                                  |
| forgiv M                                    | irif (= <i>Irish</i> ) B                                                |
| forgivnes M                                 | is O 2, M 1, iz O +, M 2, cf.                                           |
| frip M                                      | § 42                                                                    |
| gifts M                                     | it OM                                                                   |
| giv O +, M 1, gi·v O +, giveþ M             | ivori                                                                   |
| givn O 3, gi·vn (dot doubt-<br>ful) O 1     | kingdum M                                                               |
| giver O, givr M                             | kirk OM, in O given as<br>northern                                      |
| giltles M                                   | kit                                                                     |
| hi O +, M (unstressed), hi·                 | lim M                                                                   |
| O 2 M 4 D                                   | lip, -s                                                                 |
| hil M (probably A for hi·l<br><i>heel</i> ) | list                                                                    |
| him OM                                      | litl                                                                    |
| hinder                                      | living, cf. i· § 1                                                      |
| hinderans                                   | mi cf. mi· § 1                                                          |
| his O + M +, hiz O + M +, D                 | mit/ (see mikl)                                                         |
| cf. § 42                                    | michaelmas 1 B, mit/felmas 1,                                           |
| histori-ureiters                            | mihel 1, see § 4 remark.                                                |
| if +, iv 2 D, see p. 17                     | mikl (= <i>mickle</i> , given as<br>northern "for our mit/ or<br>mut/") |
| ignorant                                    | milk                                                                    |
| il                                          | miller M                                                                |
| ilmi· M (= ?)                               | miseiv (= <i>missive</i> )                                              |
| imadz M                                     | mistres                                                                 |
| imita·t                                     | misteri                                                                 |
| in OM                                       | mit/, see mikl above                                                    |
| inkre's sb.                                 | nikles (= <i>Nicholas</i> )                                             |
| indifrentlei 1, indiferentli 1              | omited                                                                  |
| iner                                        | opinion                                                                 |
| instruments                                 | oridzinal                                                               |
| intu OM                                     |                                                                         |

|                                 |                                          |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| pertikuler                      | stik                                     |
| fizik                           | stil                                     |
| pig                             | silabl, -s                               |
| pild (= <i>pilled?</i> )        | ðerin                                    |
| preposisions                    | ðeruið, ðeruiþ                           |
| prik, -s, -ing                  | þik OM                                   |
| primitivs                       | þimbl M                                  |
| prins, -es (pl.)                | þin OM                                   |
| print sb., -s                   | þing OM, -s O                            |
| print vb., -ed, -ing            | þink, mi þinks 1, mi ðinks 1             |
| printers                        | ðis O +, ðiz O +, M 2 D, see             |
| private B                       | § 42                                     |
| privi                           | tib                                      |
| provided B                      | til prep.                                |
| kuik                            | tiladʒ                                   |
| rekapitulat                     | tild (= <i>tilled</i> )                  |
| resiteþ, cf. p. 28              | tit                                      |
| rit/ard M                       | thriakl (= <i>treacle</i> )              |
| rig M                           | unprikt                                  |
| river                           | until                                    |
| ʃi O 2 (unstressed) cf. i § 1   | unuritn                                  |
| signifei 1, -feieþ 3, -feing 1, | vises 1 B, veises 1                      |
| -fi 1                           | vizard M                                 |
| simpl 1, -ple 1 B               | vizit M                                  |
| sinz M                          | ui O +, M 1 (unstressed), ui             |
| singl                           | M 2                                      |
| singular                        | huerin +, hue'rin 1                      |
| singularlei                     | hueruið O 1, -uiþ M 1                    |
| sister, -s                      | huitʃ O + M +, hutʃ O 2 C                |
| sit O, sitþ M                   | uil OM                                   |
| six O 1, siks M 2               | uili M (= <i>Willy?</i> , <i>willy</i> = |
| smiþ M                          | <i>will he?</i> )                        |

|                                   |                       |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| uiʃ M                             | uiðin OM              |
| uit sb., -s                       | uitnez M <sup>b</sup> |
| uit 1, ui·t + (in <i>to wit</i> ) | uritrn                |
| uið +, wiþ + D, see p. 17         |                       |

### § 3. i short unstressed.

Cf. ir § 5.

|                                         |                                     |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| aksidents                               | benefits M                          |
| aktivz                                  | bodi O 2, bodi· O 1, boddi          |
| aðvertized                              | M 1                                 |
| aduertizment (B <i>u</i> for <i>v</i> ) | biuried M                           |
| advoutri M                              | kalumniators                        |
| afinite                                 | kapital                             |
| alegori                                 | kariadz                             |
| aulmihti OM, al- M                      | katerin (= <i>Catherine</i> )       |
| analodzī                                | kaþolik M                           |
| aunsient                                | kavilalasions (C for <i>kavila-</i> |
| ani OM                                  | <i>sions</i> )                      |
| apelativ                                | tʃariot                             |
| artikl, -s                              | tʃastizing                          |
| -a(·)sion see -ion § 28                 | tʃeri                               |
| aspiration 1 (B <i>t</i> ), -sion 1     | tʃeritri·                           |
| autoritiz                               | chronikl                            |
| beautifi                                | komodious                           |
| bi-, cf. be- § 12                       | komodiuzei                          |
| bikauz +, bikaus 2                      | komoditi 3, -te 1                   |
| bifo·r O 1, M 1, be- O +                | kompanion                           |
| bigun cf. be-                           | komparizon 2, -son 1                |
| bili·f M                                | kontrari, kontrariez 1, -ries 2     |
| bili·v OM                               | kontrari-ueiz                       |
| bisi·tʃ, -ing M                         | konvenientli                        |
| bi-iond                                 | kopi, kopies B                      |



|                                                   |                                      |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| kurtezi                                           | espesialei 1, -siaulei 1             |
| krusifeing O, kriusifeid M                        | etimologi 1 (B <i>g</i> ), -dži 2    |
| kuriuz                                            | evri O 2, M 1, everi O 2             |
| kuriozite                                         | evident                              |
| da'vid                                            | experiens                            |
| definision                                        | experiment vb.                       |
| derivations +, -tion 1 (B <i>t</i> for <i>s</i> ) | ezzi M (= ? ezi above, <i>easy</i> ) |
| diskreibd                                         | fleming                              |
| dilidžent                                         | folio                                |
| diminiʃ                                           | glori M A?                           |
| diminusion                                        | gramarian, -s A?                     |
| direkting                                         | gresians A?                          |
| distʃardž                                         | harri M                              |
| diskomodite                                       | histori-ureiters                     |
| diskuradžings                                     | holli M                              |
| disku'rs                                          | imita't                              |
| diskresion                                        | -ing: in O 57 and in M 5             |
| disorder                                          | participles and verbal               |
| disordring                                        | nouns; in one word: ruʃ-             |
| divers, see § 2                                   | ʃin M, -in is evidently a            |
| e'zili                                            | misprint for -ing                    |
| e'zi 2, ezi 1 A?, cf. below                       | inklein M                            |
| ezzi                                              | inkre's vb.                          |
| e'džipt M                                         | indifrentlei 1, indiferentli 1       |
| intʃauntment                                      | institutions, cf. § 9 remark         |
| indeuor (B <i>u</i> for <i>v</i> )                | instruksion, -s                      |
| indu'eþ M                                         | intu OM                              |
| endžin                                            | invented                             |
| ingliʃ adj. & vb.                                 | invension, -s                        |
| ennemi M, enemiez O 1,                            | inventors, -terz, -ters              |
| enimies O 1                                       | -ion see § 28                        |
| envi sb., envied                                  | iriʃ                                 |

|                          |                                       |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| italian                  | triuli 2, -lei 1                      |
| ivori                    | uniuersali (B <i>u</i> for <i>v</i> ) |
| dzerkin                  | mani OM, manni M                      |
| la'di                    | marriner M                            |
| latin, -s                | mari M ('indeed')                     |
| le'dzibl                 | marri M ('join in marriage')          |
| -li, cf. -lei § 15:      | ma·ri M (= <i>Mary</i> )              |
| akordingli               | mersi M                               |
| bri·fli, briefli         | meri OM                               |
| komonli 1, -lei 2        | miskonstruëg                          |
| konvenientli             | misplasing                            |
| de·li M                  | multitud                              |
| e·zili                   | muzik                                 |
| gladli                   | misteri                               |
| holli M (= <i>holy</i> ) | nesesari                              |
| indiferentli, -frentlei  | no·ping                               |
| lardzli                  | notoriuzli                            |
| leivli                   | not-uið-standing                      |
| niuli                    | obedient B                            |
| notoriuzli               | okupied 1 B, -peied 1                 |
| o·nli O +, onli O +,     | ofis, -es                             |
| uonli M                  | opinion                               |
| perfetli 1, -lei 3       | oridzinal                             |
| ple·nli                  | orthographi                           |
| plurali                  | parenthesis                           |
| rihtli                   | pekulier                              |
| sekondli                 | pheni (= <i>penny</i> , see p. 13)    |
| /ortli                   | fizik                                 |
| softli                   | plentiful                             |
| strandzli                | posteriti                             |
| sufisientli 2, -lei 3    | premisez                              |
| þirdli 1, -lei 1         | primitivs                             |

|                               |                                 |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| privi                         | sufisientli 2, -lei 2           |
| profit                        | superfluite                     |
| prodgenitors                  | transitori                      |
| pronunsiasion                 | treatis 2, -tiz 4, -siz 1       |
| prosperiti                    | thuni (= <i>tunny</i> )         |
| kuantiti 1, -tie 1, -tiz 1    | tutti M                         |
| radikaul                      | tuentip M                       |
| re'di                         | undiskri't                      |
| rekapitulat                   | uniform, -lei                   |
| rhetorik                      | uniuersali B                    |
| satisfei, -d                  | unposibl                        |
| skoti'                        | veri (cf. verelei)              |
| semiuo'kals ( <i>u</i> B?)    | virdžin M                       |
| signifei, -feieþ, -feing, -fi | vizit M                         |
| -sion, see o § 28 (-ion)      | vois O +, M; voices (i) O +     |
| spaniard                      | ui'ri M                         |
| spani'                        | uiðin OM                        |
| spesiaul                      | uiðout O, uiððout M             |
| spi'di, -dier                 | u'ur/ip M                       |
| studi sb.                     | u'rðines (= <i>worthiness</i> ) |
| studied                       | u'rði                           |
| sufisient                     | zakari M                        |

## § 4. ih.

|                            |                   |
|----------------------------|-------------------|
| aulmihti O 1, M 2, almihti | mihel see below   |
| M 1                        | riht              |
| ariht                      | rihtli            |
| hih O +, cf. heiër         | siht 1, sight B 1 |
| liht sb.                   |                   |

With regard to *Michael*, Hart says (p. 49<sup>m</sup>): "huer-az ðe beter lerned sort hav iuzd ch, in michaelmas, az't-ue'r uritn uið kh, or k, alo'n, az abu'v: in mani pla'ses ov

ingland ðe kuntreman iz akustumed tu· se· for ðe quarter ðe· [misprint for de·] mit/elmas: and iet hi-uil kaul hiz kompanion mihel." *Mihel* here may be a misprint for *mikel*, but it is more probable that it reflects the ME. forms *Mihael*, *Mizhel*, *Mihel*, *Myzhell*, *Myghell*, *Myghele*, *Mighill* mentioned in NED.

### § 5. ir stressed and unstressed.

|                            |                       |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| afirmd                     | sir                   |
| aspiration 1, -tion 1      | skuirel M             |
| birds                      | stiring               |
| konfirmasion               | þird O 1, M, ðird O 1 |
| first OM                   | þirdli 1, -lei 1      |
| hir 2, her 1               | virdʒin M.            |
| kirk OM (in O as northern) |                       |

### § 6. ie·.

|                                 |                                   |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| hie·l M (= <i>heal</i> )        | mie·n (= <i>mean</i> vb.), cf. e· |
| hier M (= <i>here</i> ) cf. § 7 | § 10, ea § 16.                    |

### § 7. ie.

|                                 |                      |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| briefli 2, briefnes 1 B, cf. i· | hierbefo·r +, -bi- 1 |
| diër (= <i>dear</i> )           | hierbei              |
| hier O +, cf. § 6               | hierof               |
| hierafter                       | hierunder            |

Cf. also kontrariez, kuantitie, studied, sufisientli (and -lei).

### § 8. ieu.

|                              |                                  |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| ieu OM (= <i>ewe</i> )       | mieu OM (= <i>mew</i> as a cat). |
| fiu 1, feu 1 (= <i>few</i> ) |                                  |

### § 9. iu.

|                                     |          |
|-------------------------------------|----------|
| abiuz sb.                           | akiut    |
| abiuz, -d, -eth (B <i>th</i> for þ) | asiurans |

|                                        |                                      |
|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| asiured                                | piuër (= <i>pure</i> )               |
| bliu M (= <i>blue</i> )                | rediused                             |
| briuts (= <i>Brutes, i. e. Welsh</i> ) | refiuz sb.                           |
| biuried M (= <i>buried</i> )           | riud                                 |
| kontiniual                             | riudlei                              |
| kontiniu 2, kontiniued 1,              | riulz sb.                            |
| continued 1 C?                         | riuled                               |
| kre'tiur M                             | superfliuz 2, -flu'z 2               |
| kriusifeid M, krusifeiing O            | siuër 1, siur 2                      |
| diu (= <i>due</i> )                    | thre'ziur                            |
| figiur, -s                             | triu 1, triu' 1                      |
| fliut                                  | triuli 2, triulei 1                  |
| friut                                  | tium                                 |
| he briu +, -s 1, -z 1, he'briu 1       | tiuturs 1, tutors 1 B                |
| [instruments, see p. 28, 33]           | iuz sb. O +, M, iuz 1 C              |
| enterliuds                             | iuz vb. O +, M, iuzd, iuzest,        |
| dziu'n 1, dziu'ned 1, (= <i>join</i> , | iuzeþ, iuzing                        |
| - <i>ed</i> , cf. Gill)                | viuër (= <i>viewer</i> )             |
| multitiud                              | vertiu, -z                           |
| natiur                                 | vertiuz 1, vertiu'z 1 (= <i>vir-</i> |
| niu OM                                 | <i>tuous</i> )                       |
| niuli                                  | iu O +, M, iu' O 2                   |
| peradventiur 1, peraduentiur           | iur OM                               |
| 1 (B <i>u</i> for <i>v</i> )           | iup.                                 |
| pleziur                                |                                      |

## § 10. e' (long).

|                              |                                      |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| *abuvse'd 3, abu'vse'd 3     | auluais O 1, auluai O 1.             |
| *akue'ntans                  | (On p. 64 <sup>n</sup> , line 3 from |
| *age'n OM                    | bottom, one copy has aul-            |
| *age'nst O 1 M, agenst O 3   | ues and the other auluez             |
| *aulue'z M, O +, alue'z O 2, | or aulue'z)                          |



|                                                         |                                           |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| *ate'n                                                  | e'zi 2, cf. e § 11                        |
| *a-ue'                                                  | e'er M (= <i>e'er</i> for ever?)          |
| be'dl                                                   | e'dʒipt M                                 |
| be'r OM (= <i>bear</i> vb.)                             | e'ðer 3 (= <i>either</i> ) cf. § 11       |
| bene'ð M                                                | extre'm                                   |
| be'ter 1 C, cf. e § 11                                  | *fe'r OM (= <i>fair</i> adj.)             |
| bue' (= <i>boy</i> § 38)                                | *fe'ples M                                |
| bre'k                                                   | fe'r (= <i>fear</i> )                     |
| bre'p sb. +, bre'p +, bre'ðs 3,<br>bre'ðz 1, bre'ðes 1  | gre't OM, cf. greter § 11                 |
| bre'ð vb. 2, bre'ðd +, bre'ðed<br>1, bre'ðd 1, bre'ðing | he' M 1 B, cf. i' § 1                     |
| se's M (= <i>cease</i> ?)                               | he'rer (= <i>hearer</i> )                 |
| *serte'n 3, serten +                                    | he'ring (= <i>hearing</i> )               |
| *t/e'n M                                                | he'p                                      |
| *t/fe'r (= <i>chair</i> )                               | he'v                                      |
| konse'vd M                                              | he'vn M (= <i>heaven</i> )                |
| *konstre'n, -d                                          | he'briu 1, cf. e § 11                     |
| *konte'nd                                               | inkre's sb. & vb.                         |
| kuntre' 2 (= <i>country</i> ) cf.<br>kuntreman 1        | dʒe'zus M                                 |
| kre'tiur M                                              | *ke' M (= <i>key</i> or <i>quay</i> ?)    |
| *de' M, ðe' OC, de'z O 3,<br>M 2, dez M 1 A             | *le' M, le'ing O                          |
| *de'li M                                                | le'd (= <i>lead</i> vb.) M                |
| de'l (= <i>deal</i> sb.)                                | le'f                                      |
| de'p                                                    | le'rn 1, cf. er § 13                      |
| e'tf 1, etf uðer 1 D                                    | le'rner                                   |
| e'r, e'rz (= <i>ear</i> )                               | le'v, -ing                                |
| e'rp M 1 cf. § 13 (= <i>earth</i> )                     | le'dʒibl                                  |
| e'zd, cf. e § 11                                        | *me'd (= <i>maid</i> ) M                  |
| e'zili                                                  | *mainte'ner                               |
|                                                         | *me' (= <i>may</i> ) OM +, me 1 A<br>or D |
|                                                         | *me' (= <i>May</i> ) M                    |
|                                                         | me'ne'p cf. ie' § 6, ea § 16              |

|                                         |                                       |
|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| me'ning, cf. ea § 16                    | se'd O, se'z 2, se'p O +,             |
| ne'r OM, uelne'r, nerer p. 29           | M; cf. e § 11                         |
| ne'hbur, -z M                           | se'vn O                               |
| *ne'ðer (= <i>neither</i> ) cf. e       | se'vnþ M 2 (dot indistinct            |
| § 11, o § 27                            | once) cf. e § 11                      |
| *obe'                                   | fer M (= <i>shear?</i> )              |
| *obte'nd                                | spe'k +, -ing +, cf. e § 11           |
| *pe'n                                   | *ste' sb.                             |
| *pe'nted, cf. ai § 24                   | *ste'd 1, ste'id 1 (ptc.), ste'ip,    |
| *pe'r +, pe'rz +, pe'rs 3 (=            | see p. 36                             |
| <i>pair</i> )                           | ste'l M                               |
| pe'r M (= <i>pair</i> or <i>pear?</i> ) | te't/ 1, te't/ing 2, cf. e § 11       |
| pe's M (= <i>peace</i> )                | te't/er                               |
| perse'v                                 | *ðe'r (= <i>their</i> ) O +, M; -z 1, |
| *ple'nli                                | cf. er § 13                           |
| *ple'                                   | ðe'r 2 (= <i>there</i> ), cf. er § 13 |
| *ple'zant                               | ðe'z OM                               |
| *ple'ers                                | *ðe' (= <i>they</i> )                 |
| ple'z 3, plezd 1 A                      | *trave'ling 1, cf. e § 12             |
| *pre'r OM (= <i>prayer</i> )            | thre'ziur                             |
| *re'z (= <i>raise</i> )                 | *unfe'ned M                           |
| re'di                                   | *ve'n M (= <i>vain</i> )              |
| re'm M (= <i>realm</i> )                | *ue' OM, ue's                         |
| re'zon 3, -z 1, cf. e § 11              | ue'k M (= <i>weak?</i> )              |
| re'zonabl 3, cf. e § 11                 | ue'r (= <i>were</i> )                 |
| rese'v, -d, -ing                        | hue't (= <i>wheat</i> )               |
| *reme'n OM                              | hue'r +, cf. er § 14                  |
| *se'nts M                               | hue'rin 1, cf. er § 14                |
| *se', se'ing OM; se'ingz O,             | ie' M (= <i>yea</i> ).                |

For the words marked with \* see p. 33ff.

## § 11. e (short) stressed.

|                                            |                                                       |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| afekt vb.                                  | dessended M                                           |
| agenst O 3, cf. e· § 10                    | direkting                                             |
| aledʒd                                     | diskresion                                            |
| amend                                      | etf uðer O 1, cf. e· § 10                             |
| amendment                                  | ez O 1 A, cf. e· (= <i>ease</i> )                     |
| apelativ                                   | ester (= <i>Easter</i> )                              |
| assended M                                 | est-uind                                              |
| attempted                                  | ezi O 1, (ezzi M), (= <i>easy</i> ),<br>cf. § 10      |
| be (ʃaulbe) O 1 B, cf. i· § 1              | eftsun                                                |
| being O 1 B, cf. i· § 1                    | ekko M                                                |
| benefits M                                 | efekt                                                 |
| best                                       | eðer O 2 (= <i>either</i> ), cf. e·<br>§ 10 and p. 29 |
| beter +, be'ter 1 C                        | elders                                                |
| blesing                                    | element, -s                                           |
| blest M                                    | els                                                   |
| bred M                                     | els-huer                                              |
| breþ O +, breðes 1, cf. e· § 10            | emperour O 2, emprour O 1                             |
| breðed O 2, breðd O 1 A,<br>cf. e· § 10    | end, -ed, -eþ, -ing                                   |
| komendeþ                                   | indeuor (u B)                                         |
| komprehended                               | endʒin                                                |
| konfes                                     | ennemi M, enemiez O 1, eni-<br>mies O 1               |
| konsent                                    | enterpreis                                            |
| kontented                                  | envi sb., envied                                      |
| konvenientli B                             | espesialei 1 -siaulei 1                               |
| korekted                                   | ever O +, evr M                                       |
| koreksion                                  | everlasting O, evrlasting M                           |
| korekter 1, korektor 1 (sb.)               | everi O 3, evri O 2, M                                |
| dez M 1 (= <i>days</i> ) A, cf. e·<br>§ 10 | evident                                               |
| ded M (= <i>dead</i> )                     |                                                       |

|                                                 |                                                      |
|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| evva M, eva O (= ?)                             | invented                                             |
| exseling ( <i>x</i> B)                          | invension, -s                                        |
| eksept O+, exept O 1 ( <i>x</i> B)              | inventors, -terz, -ters                              |
| exsepting O 1, exepting O 1<br>( <i>x</i> B)    | dzeluz M                                             |
| exepsion ( <i>x</i> B)                          | džest                                                |
| exses ( <i>x</i> B)                             | kept                                                 |
| exersi'z, -ez, -ing ( <i>x</i> B)               | ketl                                                 |
| eksodus M                                       | lest (= <i>least</i> ) A?                            |
| experiens ( <i>x</i> B)                         | left adj.                                            |
| experiment ( <i>x</i> B)                        | left ptc.                                            |
| exprest ( <i>x</i> B)                           | leg                                                  |
| ezzi M (= ? <i>easy</i> , see above)            | lengp                                                |
| felu, -z, felu', felo                           | les                                                  |
| fleming                                         | let OM                                               |
| flef                                            | leters O+, letters O 1 B                             |
| frenf                                           | letred                                               |
| dženeral                                        | men, mens                                            |
| dženera'sion M                                  | me O 1 B, cf. § 1, § 2 (= <i>me</i> )                |
| džentl OM                                       | me 1 A or D (= <i>may</i> )                          |
| greter (= <i>greater</i> , ME. <i>gretter</i> ) | ment                                                 |
| gres M (= ?)                                    | medesin                                              |
| gresians                                        | memori                                               |
| hebriu O+, -s, -z, cf. e' § 10                  | mensioned                                            |
| hed (= <i>head</i> )                            | nesesari                                             |
| help                                            | nedr O 3 (= <i>neither</i> ), cf. e'<br>§ 10, o § 27 |
| heh see § 44                                    | nedr (= <i>Nether</i> -)                             |
| hehho M (= <i>heigh-ho?</i> )                   | never                                                |
| hel M                                           | neverðeles                                           |
| help OM                                         | nekst O 2, next O 1 B                                |
| impresion                                       | obedient B                                           |
| enterliuds                                      | ofens                                                |

|                                               |                                                                         |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ofended                                       | seldum                                                                  |
| parenthezis                                   | self OM, selvz M, selvs O                                               |
| pen                                           | semiuo'kals ( <i>u</i> B)                                               |
| pheni (= <i>penny</i> , see p. 13)            | send OM, sent O                                                         |
| peradventiur                                  | sens                                                                    |
| perfeksion                                    | sentens                                                                 |
| plezd A, cf. e' § 10                          | seperat, -ing                                                           |
| pleziur                                       | set                                                                     |
| plentiful                                     | sevnþ M 1, cf. e' § 10                                                  |
| possessed M                                   | several, severaul                                                       |
| presept                                       | /el                                                                     |
| predesesors, -ours                            | spesiaul                                                                |
| premisez                                      | spek O 1 (= <i>speak</i> ) A, cf. e' § 10                               |
| present vb. O 1, presented O 1                | spelerz                                                                 |
| present O 1, prezent O 1                      | streht, -er (= <i>straight</i> )                                        |
| prezentlei 1, presentlei 1                    | subieksion ( <i>i</i> B)                                                |
| prodʒenitors                                  | sukses                                                                  |
| rezon O +, -s O 2 A, reson 1 A B, cf. e' § 10 | tet/ing O 1 A, cf. e' § 10                                              |
| rezonabl O 2 A, cf. e' § 10                   | ten M                                                                   |
| remembrans                                    | tenses                                                                  |
| remembr M                                     | text ( <i>x</i> B)                                                      |
| represent M                                   | ðen O + (= <i>than</i> ) cf. a § 20                                     |
| respect B                                     | ðe + very often shortened into<br>to ð or ð' before vowels,<br>see § 49 |
| rested M                                      | ðem OM                                                                  |
| rezurreksion M                                | ðen OM (= <i>then</i> )                                                 |
| retend (= <i>retained</i> ) A                 | ðens M                                                                  |
| revendʒ                                       | ðez O + (= <i>these</i> ) A, cf. e' § 10                                |
| rhetoric ( <i>rh</i> B)                       | tugeðer                                                                 |
| seþ O 1, cf. e' § 10                          | trespas, -passes M                                                      |
| sekond O 1, sekund O 1                        |                                                                         |
| sekondli                                      |                                                                         |



|                      |                                |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| tuentiþ M            | huens                          |
| uelþ                 | hueðer                         |
| uel adv. OM, uelne'r | ureting 1 C, cf. ei § 15       |
| uel sb.              | iet                            |
| uent                 | zat/eus M (= <i>Zaccheus</i> ) |
| huen OM              | zebed M.                       |

## § 12. e (short) unstressed.

|                                           |                                 |
|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| aksidents                                 | t/auncelour (c B)               |
| adherents (B?)                            | t/apel                          |
| afinite                                   | sichore (= <i>chicory</i> )     |
| alegori                                   | komaund(e)ment, see above,      |
| alphabet ( <i>ph</i> B?)                  | p. 22, and p. 84                |
| emong                                     | komodite 1, -ti 3, cf. dis-     |
| emongst 4, amongst 1                      | komprehended                    |
| aunsient                                  | konvenientli                    |
| apostrophe (perhaps <i>ph</i> and<br>e B) | kounsel <i>vb</i> and <i>sb</i> |
| aphel (= <i>apple</i> , see p. 13)        | kountenans                      |
| be- (cf. bi- § 3)                         | kuntreman                       |
| bekums                                    | kurtezi                         |
| befo'r O+, M 1, cf. bi-                   | kuvet                           |
| begin, -ing, -eþ, began,                  | kuriozite                       |
| cf. bi-                                   | de- (cf. di- § 3)               |
| behuf OM                                  | dekla'r O, -d O, -ing M         |
| belongs                                   | defeind                         |
| beneð M                                   | definision                      |
| bestoed                                   | delivr M                        |
| betuikst 1, betuixt+                      | derision                        |
| chamel 1, kamel 2                         | derivd +, derivd 2              |
| kandel 1, kandel 1, chandl 1              | dessended M                     |
| t/amlet (= <i>camlet</i> , see NED.)      | dezeir                          |
|                                           | dezeirous, -ruz, deziruz        |

- deveided  
 devi'zd 1, deveizd 2,  
     deueizd 2  
 dilidʒent  
 diskomodite  
 -ed, cf. -d, -t § 48:  
     akustumed 2, -md 3  
     aded  
     advansed  
     aðvertized  
     aloued  
     aunsuered  
     assended M  
     asiured  
     atempted  
     bestoed  
     boroed 1, boroued 1  
     breðed 2, bre'ðd +,  
     biuried M   [breðd 1  
     kaused (s B, cf. z § 42)  
     t/andʒed 2, t/aungd 1  
     seited               [(g B)  
     kompounded  
     komprehended  
     konfounded  
     konsidered, -dred  
     kontended  
     kontinued 1, -niued 1  
     korekted  
     dessended M  
     deveided  
     dubled  
     enkouradʒed  
     ended  
     envied  
     favored  
     figured  
     forsed  
     hallued M  
     hoped  
     invented  
     lerned 4, lernd +, see  
     letred               [§ 48  
     marked  
     mensioned  
     noted  
     observed 2, -vd 1  
     okiupeied 1, -pied 1  
     ofended  
     omited  
     pe'nted  
     perfeited  
     persuaded  
     pla'sed  
     possessed M B  
     prezented  
     printed  
     provided B  
     rediused  
     reformed  
     remembred  
     repugned  
     rested M  
     riuled

|                             |                                      |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| /eued                       | mozez M                              |
| sounded                     | nurses                               |
| studied                     | ofises                               |
| tasted                      | pla'ses                              |
| treated                     | premisez                             |
| trubled                     | prinses                              |
| turned 2, turnd 1           | spit'es                              |
| unfe'ned M                  | tenses                               |
| unl'erned                   | trespasses M                         |
| vnsounded                   | veises 1, vises 1                    |
| efekt                       | voises                               |
| eftsun                      | espesialei 1, -siaulei 1             |
| element, -s                 | espeid                               |
| enkouradzed                 | -est:                                |
| ennemi M, enemiez O 1, eni- | t/i'fest                             |
| mies O 1                    | hardest                              |
| epistls                     | iuzest                               |
| -es (and ez), cf. -s und -z | -ep (cf. also § 41):                 |
| § 42, § 43:                 | abiuzeth ( <i>th</i> for <i>p</i> B) |
| a'dzes                      | armeþ                                |
| a/fe's M, a/es O            | begineþ                              |
| breðes B 1, bre'ðs 3,       | kauleþ                               |
| bre'ðz 1                    | kauzeþ                               |
| kauzes                      | kumeþ                                |
| kontrariez 1, -ies 2        | komendeþ                             |
| kopies                      | douteþ                               |
| diferenses                  | endeþ                                |
| examples 1, -pls 1          | feindeþ                              |
| exersizez                   | folueþ 1, folueþ 3                   |
| dʒudʒes                     | giveþ M                              |
| langadʒes                   | hurteþ                               |
| modes B                     | indureþ M                            |

|                                   |                            |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| ma'keþ                            | -ment:                     |
| me'neþ                            | abridgment, -s             |
| no'teþ                            | advaunsmen                 |
| prosi'deth ( <i>th</i> for þ B)   | aduertizment ( <i>u</i> B) |
| resiteþ                           | amendment                  |
| serveþ                            | argument, -s               |
| ta'keþ O 1, ta'kþ M 1             | komaundment O 1, -de-      |
| understandeþ                      | ment O 1, kom-             |
| iuzeþ                             | maundments M 2,            |
| ureiteþ                           | see p. 22                  |
| etimologi 1 ( <i>g</i> B), -dzi 2 | elements                   |
| iven 1, i'vn 2, ivn 1             | int/auntment               |
| evident                           | experiment                 |
| exampl, -pls, -ples O, eksampl    | instrument, -s             |
| OM                                | mihel (= <i>Michael</i> )  |
| exseling                          | mitfelmas                  |
| eksept, exept, -ing, exsepting    | mistres                    |
| exepsion                          | nesesari                   |
| exses                             | -nes and -nez              |
| experiens                         | briefnes                   |
| experiment                        | forgivnes M                |
| exprest                           | leiknes M                  |
| extre'm                           | sui'tnes                   |
| florenteins                       | uitnez M                   |
| forens (= <i>foreign(er)s</i> )   | u'rðines                   |
| harvest                           | neverðeles                 |
| indifrentlei, indiferentli        | nikles (= <i>Nicolas</i> ) |
| kno'ledz, knoledz                 | norðren                    |
| -les:                             | obedient                   |
| fe'ples M                         | opening                    |
| giltles M                         | palet (= <i>palate</i> )   |
| medesin                           | parenthesis                |

|                             |                                 |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| pa'rents                    | repugned                        |
| pekulier                    | respect                         |
| perfetlei, -li, cf. ei § 15 | rezurreksion M                  |
| precept                     | retend                          |
| predecessors, -ours         | revendʒ                         |
| preposisions                | skrupelus                       |
| present, prezent, see § 11  | sentens                         |
| prezentlei 1, pres- 1       | separa't, -rating A             |
| prezerving                  | serpent                         |
| private B                   | several, -aul                   |
| proses                      | simple 1 B, simpl 1             |
| puppet M                    | skuirel M                       |
| re-:                        | subiect ( <i>i</i> B)           |
| recapitulat                 | suficient, -li -lei             |
| resev, -d, -ing             | superfluite                     |
| resitep                     | temta'sion M                    |
| reformasion                 | ðem(selvs)                      |
| refiuz                      | traveler, cf. e' § 10           |
| regard                      | trumpet M                       |
| rehers                      | unserten                        |
| reme'n OM                   | unexpert                        |
| remember + O, -bred         | verelei                         |
| O 1, -br M                  | voel, -s, -z, generally written |
| remembrans                  | voël                            |
| represent M                 | zebed M.                        |

§ 13. **er stressed.**

|                            |                                |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| adherents B                | divers +, deivers 3, diuers 1, |
| aduertizment ( <i>u</i> B) | deiuers 1 ( <i>u</i> B)        |
| serten, serte'n            | diverslei, deiverslei          |
| sertenlei                  | erþ M 5, cf. e' § 10           |
| t/eri, t/eritri            | er (= <i>err</i> )             |



|                                       |                                      |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| eror 1, erour 1                       | posteriti                            |
| experiens (B?)                        | prezerving                           |
| experiment                            | prosperiti                           |
| džermain                              | rehers                               |
| her 1, cf. i § 5                      | serpent                              |
| herb                                  | servant M                            |
| lern 1, le'rn 1                       | serv, -d, -eþ, -þ                    |
| lernd +, lerned 1, cf. e' § 10        | sert (= <i>shirt</i> )               |
| and § 48                              | superflu'z, -fliuz                   |
| lerning 1, learning 1 (B)             | unserten                             |
| mersi M                               | unexpert ( <i>x</i> B)               |
| meri OM                               | uniuersali ( <i>u</i> B)             |
| nerer (= <i>nearer</i> ), cf. e' § 10 | unlerned                             |
| observing, -ved, -vd                  | verb, -s                             |
| perfet +                              | veri                                 |
| perfeited 1                           | vertiu, -z (= <i>virtue</i> )        |
| perfetli 1, -lei 3                    | vertiuz 1, verti'uz 1 (= <i>vir-</i> |
| person, -s                            | <i>tuous</i> ).                      |

#### § 14. er unstressed.

(Cf. also § 47 syllabic r.)

|                               |                                    |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| adder M                       | kauderon (= <i>ca(u)ldron</i> )    |
| aðvertized                    | t/amberlain                        |
| after OM                      | t/aunter                           |
| alter vb.                     | t/apter                            |
| anuðer                        | t/ilder O, t/ildrn M.              |
| aunsuered                     | choler                             |
| beter                         | konsider, -dered 1, -dred 1        |
| bragger M                     | korrekter 1, -tor 1 (= <i>cor-</i> |
| beiër (= <i>buyer?</i> )      | <i>rector</i> )                    |
| karter                        | korupter, -s                       |
| katerin (= <i>Catherine</i> ) | kounter                            |

|                                          |                                  |
|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| konterfet                                | harder                           |
| dagger M                                 | he'rer                           |
| daundzerous                              | hierafter, etc., see § 7         |
| derivations +, -tion 2                   | heiër (= <i>higher</i> )         |
| diferens, -es                            | hinder                           |
| difering                                 | hinderans                        |
| dodzer (dodʒdzer, double ʒ) M            | histori-ureiters                 |
| deier                                    | indiferentli 1, indifrentlei 1   |
| ester (= <i>Easter</i> )                 | iner                             |
| e'er M (= <i>e'er</i> for <i>ever</i> ?) | enterliuds                       |
| eðer 1, e'ðer 3 (= <i>either</i> )       | inventerz 1, -ters 1, -tors 1    |
| elders                                   | dʒugler M                        |
| elshuer                                  | laborers                         |
| emperour 2, emproure 1                   | ladder M                         |
| enterpreis                               | later (= <i>latter</i> )         |
| ever                                     | le'rner                          |
| everlasting O, evrlasting M              | leters +, letters 1 (cf. letred) |
| everi 3, evri 2                          | longer                           |
| exersi'z, -ez, -ing (x B)                | mainte'ner                       |
| faðer, forfaðers O, fa'ðr                | maner OM, -s O                   |
| fa'dr M                                  | marriner M                       |
| filbert M                                | mater, -z                        |
| feiër (= <i>fire</i> )                   | mi'ter, miters                   |
| former                                   | millier M                        |
| furðer                                   | meier (= <i>mire</i> sb.) M      |
| dʒeneral                                 | modern                           |
| dʒenera'sion M                           | muðer O 3, mu'ðr M               |
| giver O, givr M                          | misteri                          |
| guvernurz                                | nerer (= <i>nearer</i> )         |
| gramer, -sku'l                           | ne'ðer 1, neder 3, noder 1       |
| greter                                   | (= <i>neither</i> )              |
| hammer M                                 | neder (in <i>Nether-Dutch</i> )  |

|                                                   |                                              |
|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| neuters                                           | several 1, -raul 2                           |
| never, -ðeles                                     | singular, -lei                               |
| number                                            | sister, -s                                   |
| observasion                                       | softer                                       |
| o'er M (= <i>oar</i> )                            | su'ner                                       |
| order                                             | spi'dier                                     |
| uðer +, uðers 1, u'ðer 1                          | spelerz                                      |
| uðerueiz                                          | strandʒers O, strandʒr M                     |
| otter M                                           | strehter                                     |
| over 1 A, o'vr-it 1                               | suffer, -d M                                 |
| overmut/ A                                        | superfluite                                  |
| painter                                           | siuër 1, siur 2 (= <i>sure</i> )             |
| pa'per                                            | te't/er                                      |
| pertikuler                                        | ðer, ðers (= <i>their, theirs</i> see below) |
| pekulier                                          | ðer (= <i>there</i> , see below)             |
| peradventiur 1, peraduen-<br>tiur 1 ( <i>u</i> B) | ðerbei +                                     |
| perse'v                                           | ðerfor O + M 1, ðerfor O 2                   |
| perfeksion                                        | ðerin 1                                      |
| persuaded                                         | ðerof +                                      |
| persuazion                                        | ðeruntu 1, ðeruntu' 1                        |
| ple'ers                                           | ðeruið 1, ðeruiþ 1                           |
| pouër, -s O, pou'er M                             | tugeðer                                      |
| printers                                          | traveler                                     |
| proper                                            | under                                        |
| piuër (= <i>pure</i> )                            | understand, -ing, -eþ, -sto'd,<br>-stu'd     |
| quarter ( <i>q</i> B)                             | uniuersali B                                 |
| raðer                                             | uper                                         |
| remember                                          | viuër (= <i>viewer</i> )                     |
| river                                             | ua'ter O, ua'tr M                            |
| sku'lma'sters 1, -masters 1                       | huer (see below)                             |
| sepera't, -rating                                 |                                              |

|                           |                               |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| hueraz +, -as 1           | hueruið O 1, hueruiþ M 1      |
| huerbei O +, M 1          | hueðer                        |
| huerfor O + M 1, -for O 1 | ureiter, cf. histori-ureiters |
| huerin +, hue'rin 1       | ionder.                       |
| huerof +                  |                               |

I have hesitatingly given such compounds as *therefore*, *whereby* as stressed on the last syllable; the constant use of the short vowel decidedly points in that direction. Similarly, when we find *there* written several times with a short vowel ðer, as against ðe'r (only twice), and *where* written huer (twice) as against hue'r (very often), the short vowels may belong to the unstressed forms, though in some cases I suspect a dot has been erroneously omitted. *Their* is generally written ðe'r, but ðer occurs twice (in weak position); *theirs* is once written ðe'rz, and once ðers, which may be a misprint.

## § 15. ei.

|                                  |                                       |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| afein                            | deiverslei 1, diverslei 1             |
| beiër (= <i>buyer</i> ?)         | deveided                              |
| bei OM (= <i>by</i> )            | dei (= <i>dye</i> ) M                 |
| seifring (= <i>ciphering</i> )   | deiër (= <i>dyer</i> )                |
| seit, -ed (= <i>cite</i> )       | enterpreis                            |
| krusifeing O, krusifeid M        | espeid                                |
| defeind                          | [exerseiz, see p. 28]                 |
| diskreibd                        | ei (= <i>eye</i> )                    |
| dezeir                           | feind , feint laut 1, feindeþ         |
| dezeiruz 1, -rous 1, deziruz 1 B | feivþ 2 (= <i>fifth</i> ; in the old- |
| deveizd 2, deueidz 2 (u B),      | spelling part it is written           |
| cf. i' § 1.                      | <i>fift</i> , but <i>fifthly</i> )    |
| deivers 3, deiuers 1 B, cf. i    | feiër                                 |
| § 2.                             | feiv                                  |

|                                                   |                                   |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| florenteins                                       | prulei (= <i>th(o)roughly</i> )   |
| hierbei                                           | triulei 1, -li 2                  |
| heier (= <i>higher</i> )                          | uniformlei                        |
| histori-ureiters                                  | verelei                           |
| ei OM (= <i>I</i> )                               | huolei (= <i>wholly</i> )         |
| eidllei (first <i>l</i> syllabic, = <i>idly</i> ) | mankeind M                        |
| inklein M                                         | meind                             |
| keind                                             | mein OM                           |
| lei M (= <i>lie</i> down)                         | meier M (= <i>mire</i> )          |
| leif OM                                           | miseiv                            |
| leik+ (uel li'kt of 1)                            | mei OM                            |
| leiknes M                                         | meiself                           |
| lein                                              | okupeied 1, okupied 1 B           |
| leion M                                           | uðerueiz                          |
| leivli                                            | pasteim                           |
| -lei (= <i>-ly</i> , cf. -li § 3):                | perfeited                         |
| boldlei                                           | peilat M (= <i>Pilate</i> )       |
| sertenlei                                         | peip OM (pheip O, see p. 13)      |
| komodiuzelei                                      | reid                              |
| komonlei 2, -li 1                                 | satisfei, -d                      |
| espesialei 1, -siaulei 1                          | seid                              |
| fitlei 1, -li 1                                   | sein (= <i>sign</i> sb.)          |
| indifrentlei 1, indife-                           | signifei 1, -ep 3, -ing 1, fi 1 C |
| rentli 1                                          | steil                             |
| na'mlei                                           | ðerbei                            |
| partlei                                           | ðein                              |
| perfetlei 3, -li 1                                | ðei OM                            |
| prezentlei 1, pres- 1                             | ðeiself M                         |
| riudlei                                           | theim (= <i>thyme</i> )           |
| singularlei                                       | teid (= <i>tied</i> )             |
| birdlei 1, -li 1                                  | teim, -s                          |
|                                                   | [teitl, see p. 28]                |



|                                                            |                                                   |
|------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| treifls                                                    | ueif M                                            |
| veises 1, vises 1 B (= <i>vices</i> )                      | ueizdum                                           |
| huerbei OM                                                 | ueiz adj.                                         |
| hueil M                                                    | ueiz sb.                                          |
| hueilz, hueilst (= <i>whiles</i> ,<br><i>whilst</i> conj.) | ureit + OM, ureiting +, urei-<br>teþ, ureting 1 C |
| huei OM (= <i>why</i> )                                    | ureiter, histori-ureiters.                        |

## § 16. ea', ea.

|                            |                              |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| learning 1 B, cf. e' § 10, | seas 1 B                     |
| er § 13                    | treating +, -ted (B?)        |
| in ðe mea'n teim B         | treatis 2, -tiz 3, treasiz 1 |
| meaning 3 B, me'ning 1     | (ea B?, -siz C).             |

## § 17. eau.

|                  |                                    |
|------------------|------------------------------------|
| beautifi (-fi B) | eaur (= <i>ewer</i> , a basin) OM. |
|------------------|------------------------------------|

## § 18. eu.

|                               |                                  |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| feu 1, fieu 1 (= <i>few</i> ) | feu2, feued +, feuing 1, fio' 1, |
| neuters                       | fio 2 (= <i>show</i> )           |
|                               | (zat/eus M).                     |

## § 19. a' (long).

|                                            |                                |
|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a'bl 1, cf. a § 20 and ha'bl.              | ka'k M                         |
| a'dʒes                                     | ka'm                           |
| -a'sion M, cf. -asion O, see<br>§ 28 -ion. | ka'pn<br>ka'r (= <i>care</i> ) |
| dʒenera'sion M                             | tʃa'ndʒ 1, cf. a § 20, au      |
| temta'sion M                               | § 25                           |
| ba'ð M (probably = <i>bathe</i> )          | komp'a'r, -s, -d               |
| bla'm                                      | da'vid M                       |
| bra'zn                                     | dekla'r, -d O, -ing M          |

- fa·ðr M 4, fa·dr M 2, faðer  
     O 1, cf. for-faðers  
 fa·ls M (= *false*)  
 fa·vor *vb.* 1, fa·vour *sb.* 1,  
     cf. a § 20  
 fra·m, -d, -ing  
 ga·m  
 ga·ping  
 ga·ts M  
 ga·v  
 gra·s OM (= *grace*)  
 gra·v  
 ha·bl (= *able*)  
 ha·r M  
 ha·t M  
 ha·v O +, M +, -ing 2, ha·f 1  
     (see p. 15), cf. a § 20  
 imita·t  
 la·br M, la·bur, -s O  
 la·dl M  
 la·di  
 la·m M  
 la·t  
 ma·d OM (= *made*)  
 ma·k OM, -ep O, cf. a § 20  
 ma·kr M  
 ma·l M (= *male*)  
 ma·n M  
 ma·r M  
 ma·ri M (= *Mary*)  
 (sku·l)ma·sters 1, cf. a § 20  
 na·m OM  
 na·md, na·ms, na·mlei  
 pa·dʒ 1, cf. a § 20  
 pa·per  
 pa·rents  
 pla·s +, -es 2, cf. a § 20  
 ra·dʒ M  
 ra·f M (= *Ralph?*)  
 ra·r M  
 sa·bl  
 sa·f M  
 sa·dʒ  
 sa·m OM  
 sa·v M  
 sku·lma·sters 1, cf. a § 20  
 sepe·ra·t *vb.* 1, cf. a § 21  
 ʃa·m  
 ʃa·mfast  
 ʃa·p 1, -s +, -t 1, cf. a  
 spa·k OM  
 ta·bl  
 ta·k OM, -ing O, -n O,  
     ta·kp M  
 tar·t M (= *tart?*)  
 tha·ms, *th* see p. 13 and  
     § 44.  
 va·n M (= *vane* probably)  
 va·v M (= ?)  
 ua·king  
 ua·tr M, ua·ter O  
 ura·t (= *wrate, wrote*).

## § 20. a (short) stressed.

Cf. § 22 ar.

|                                     |                                  |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| a OM                                | as, az, see § 42                 |
| abba M                              | as (= <i>ass</i> ) M             |
| abl 1 A, a·bl 1                     | a/, a/es O, a//es M              |
| aksidents                           | asking                           |
| akorns A                            | at                               |
| aktivz                              | -asion, -azion O, -a'sion M, see |
| ad, aded                            | -ion § 28                        |
| adder M                             | bab M                            |
| advansed, cf. au § 25               | bag                              |
| aðvertized, cf. p. 25               | bak                              |
| advoutri                            | began                            |
| after OM, hierafter                 | bragger                          |
| ahha M (= ?)                        | kalumniators A                   |
| alegori                             | chamel 1, kamel 2                |
| alphabet, ph see § 44               | kan sb.                          |
| also 1, aul-+                       | kan vb.                          |
| alter                               | chandl 1, kandel 1, kandel 1     |
| aluez 2, cf. aul- § 25, § 10        | kapital                          |
| am OM                               | kastl                            |
| ampl                                | kat                              |
| an OM (before vowels; also          | kat/                             |
| once before <i>w</i> : an u'rði     | katerin                          |
| man)                                | kapolik M                        |
| analodzi                            | katl M                           |
| and O always, in M <i>and</i> in    | t/falk                           |
| biblical pieces, <i>an</i> in fami- | t/amberlain (A?)                 |
| liar style                          | t/amlet (= <i>camlet</i> )       |
| anna M                              | t/andzcl 2, t/andzed 6, t/andz   |
| ani OM                              | 2, t/anging B 1, cf. au          |
| aphel (= <i>apple</i> , see p. 13)  | § 25, a § 19                     |

|                                |                             |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| t/apel                         | italian                     |
| t/apter                        | dʒak (= <i>Jack</i> )       |
| t/ast (A <sup>?</sup> )        | laborers A                  |
| t/astizing                     | lak                         |
| kompanion                      | lad                         |
| komparison 1, -zon 2           | ladder M                    |
| krab                           | lam M (= <i>lamb</i> )      |
| dab OM                         | land M                      |
| dad OM                         | langadʒ, -es                |
| dagger M                       | las M                       |
| everlasting O, evrlasting M    | last adj.                   |
| eksampl O 1 M 1, examples      | lasting (ever- O, evr- M)   |
| O 1, exampls O 1, exampl       | latin, -s                   |
| O 2                            | later (= <i>latter</i> )    |
| faðer O 1, for-faðers O 1, cf. | making 2 A, cf. a· § 19     |
| a· § 19                        | man, manz                   |
| favored 1 A, cf. a· § 19       | maner OM, maners            |
| gag M                          | mani OM, manni M            |
| gladli                         | mas                         |
| gramer, gramer-sku:l           | (sku:l)masters, cf. a· § 19 |
| gravn M A                      | mater, -z                   |
| had                            | misplasing A                |
| hah OM, cf. § 44               | natural                     |
| half                           | natiur A <sup>?</sup>       |
| hammer M                       | not-uið-standing            |
| hand OM                        | padʒ 1 A, cf. a· § 19       |
| hapn                           | palet (= <i>palate</i> )    |
| hast ( <i>thou</i> ) M         | pap OM                      |
| hat M                          | pas, -ing, past             |
| hap                            | pasteim                     |
| having 1, hauing 1 B, cf.      | patʃ                        |
| a· § 19                        | persuaded A                 |

|                              |                                |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| plases 1 A, cf. a' § 19 and  | strandʒ, -li (A?)              |
| mis-                         | strandʒr M, strandʒers O (A?)  |
| prat                         | tasted A                       |
| kuantiti 1, -tie 1 B, -tiz 1 | ðan cf. e § 11                 |
| radikaul                     | pankful OM                     |
| ran M                        | panks M                        |
| raʃ M                        | ðat OM                         |
| raðer                        | transitori                     |
| sabbot M                     | translating A                  |
| salt                         | traveler, travel'ing           |
| sathan                       | uag M                          |
| satisfei, -d                 | uant O, -s M                   |
| sku'masters 1, -ma'sters 1   | ualʃ (= <i>Welsh</i> )         |
| ʃal 1, cf. au                | uaz, uas, cf. z § 42           |
| ʃa'mfast                     | uaʃ                            |
| ʃaps 1 A, cf. a' § 19        | uat OM (= <i>Wat, Walter</i> ) |
| ʃuaʃ M                       | huat OM, huat-so-ever, sum-    |
| spaniard                     | huat (once by misprint         |
| spaniʃ                       | hut)                           |
| stand, see not-uið-standing, | hueraz +, -as 1                |
| under-                       | zakari.                        |

### § 21. a (short) unstressed.

Cf. § 23 ar.

|                              |                            |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| abu·v O +, abo·v O 1 B, abuv | akue'ntans                 |
| O 3 M 1                      | akiut                      |
| abridʒment, -s               | adherents                  |
| abius                        | advansed                   |
| abiuz, -d, -eth              | advaunsmment               |
| akording, -li                | aduertizment ( <i>u</i> B) |
| akount                       | afekt                      |
| akustumed, -md               | afein                      |



|                                      |                             |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| afinite                              | aspi'r, -d, -ing            |
| afirmd                               | asiurans                    |
| age'n OM                             | asiured                     |
| age'nst O 1 M, agenst O +            | ate'n                       |
| -al, cf. -aul § 25                   | atempted                    |
| kapital                              | aue' (= <i>away</i> )       |
| kontiniual                           | bondadz M                   |
| espesialei 1, -siaulei 1             | kalumniators                |
| dʒeneral                             | kariadz                     |
| natural                              | kavilalasions C             |
| oridʒinal                            | koma                        |
| plurali                              | konsonant, -s               |
| semiuokals ( <i>u</i> B)             | kountenans                  |
| several O 1                          | kuntreman                   |
| uniuersali ( <i>u</i> B)             | diskuradzings               |
| aledʒd                               | distans                     |
| alou, -ed                            | dut/land                    |
| aliud                                | enkouradzed ( <i>ou</i> B)  |
| almihti M 1, cf. aul- § 25           | ingland                     |
| alo'n OM                             | evva M, eva O               |
| alphabet (ph § 44)                   | gama                        |
| amend                                | gramarian                   |
| amongst 1, cf. e § 12                | gresians                    |
| anuðer                               | hinderans                   |
| analodʒi                             | ignorant                    |
| api'r, -d O, appi'ring M             | imadz M                     |
| apelativ                             | italian                     |
| apostrophe                           | langadz, -es                |
| apro'tʃ                              | -man: noblman 1, -mans 1,   |
| ariht                                | no'blman 1, u'uman M        |
| assended M                           | mankeind M [mas 1           |
| aspiration 1 ( <i>t</i> B), -asion 1 | -mas: michaelmas 1, mit/el- |

|                             |                                 |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| no·tabl                     | seperating 1, cf. a. § 19       |
| oratoř, -s                  | servant M                       |
| orthographi, cf. § 44       | silabl, -s                      |
| peradventiur 1, peraduen-   | thomas, cf. § 44                |
| tiur 1 B                    | pousandz M                      |
| peilat M (= <i>Pilate</i> ) | tiladz                          |
| ple·zant                    | translating                     |
| private B                   | thriakl, cf. § 44               |
| re·zonabl 3, rez- 1 A       | trespas M, -ses M               |
| rekapitulat                 | u·uman M                        |
| remembrans                  | zat/eus M (= <i>Zaccheus</i> ). |
| sathan, cf. § 44            |                                 |

## § 22. ar stressed.

|                       |                           |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| ar (= <i>are</i> ) OM | hard, -er, -est           |
| argument              | hark                      |
| arm M                 | harm                      |
| armeþ                 | harri M (= <i>Harry</i> ) |
| art sb.               | hart (= <i>heart</i> )    |
| art ( <i>thou</i> ) M | harvest                   |
| artikl                | lardz, -li                |
| kariadz               | mark, -s, -ed             |
| kart                  | mari M (exclamation)      |
| karter                | marri M (verb)            |
| t/arko·l              | marriner M                |
| t/ariot               | part, -s, -lei            |
| t/art                 | quarter ( <i>q</i> B)     |
| dark                  | regard                    |
| dist/ardz             | /arp                      |
| far OM                | vari A?                   |
| fo·rpart              | uarning                   |
| gramarian A?          | (t/urt/·)iard.            |

## § 23. ar unstressed.

|                           |           |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| kontrari, -ez, -es, -ueiz | tu'ards   |
| doun-uard                 | spaniard  |
| in-uard                   | vizard M  |
| nesesari                  | vulgar    |
| parenthesis               | zakari M. |
| rit/ard M                 |           |

## § 24. ai, ae.

|                                 |                              |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| auluai O 1, -s O 1, cf. e' § 11 | mainte'ner                   |
| t/amberlain                     | painter 2, cf. e' § 10       |
| aehtp (= <i>eighth</i> )        | romain -s (= <i>Roman</i> ). |
| dżermain (= <i>German</i> )     | See above, p. 36.            |

## § 25. au.

|                                         |                              |
|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| advaunsmment 1, cf. a § 20              | kauz O +, -es, -ep, kaused   |
| aul OM                                  | t/auncelour (c B)            |
| -aul: radikaul, cf. -al § 21,           | t/aundler                    |
| severaul O 2, spesiaul                  | t/aundz O 1 M, t/aung O 1 B, |
| -aulei: espesiaulei 1, -sialei 1        | t/aungd O 1 (g B), cf. a     |
| aulmihti O 1 M 2, al- M 1               | § 20, a' § 19                |
| aulso O +, cf. a § 20                   | t/aunter                     |
| aulpoh                                  | komaund                      |
| aulue'z O + M, alue'z O 2,              | komaundment O 1, kom-        |
| auluais O 1, auluai O 1                 | maundments M 2, komaun-      |
| aunsient                                | dement O 1, see p. 22        |
| aunsuered                               | daundzerous                  |
| autours 1, autor 3, author 1            | dauhtr M                     |
| autoritiz                               | int/auntment                 |
| baul M (= <i>ball</i> or <i>bawl</i> ?) | faul                         |
| bikauz +, bikaus 2                      | faut 2, faultz 1 B           |
| kaul, -ep, -d                           | gaul (= <i>gall</i> )        |
| kauderon (= <i>cauldron</i> )           | lauh M, lauht O 2, lauhing O |

|                                 |                          |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| lau OM, lauz M                  | smaul                    |
| lauful                          | tauht 1, taught 1 B      |
| sau (= <i>saw</i> , past tense) | uaul M (= <i>wall</i> ). |
| shaul O + M+, cf. a; shault M+  |                          |

## § 26. o· (long).

The words marked \* in § 26 and 27 have [o·u], see p. 34ff.

|                                     |                                    |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| abo·v 1 B, cf. u· § 34, u § 35      | hier-befo·r+, -bifo·r 1            |
| alo·n OM                            | ho·m M                             |
| apro·tʃ                             | ho·p 1, hoped 1 A                  |
| befo·r O + M 1, bifo·r O 1,         | ho·z OM                            |
| M 1, befor-se·d O 1                 | *kno· 1, kno·n 1, kno +            |
| bo·rn (ov ðe virdʒin) M, cf.        | *kno·ledʒ+, knoedʒ 1               |
| or § 30                             | mo·r 'OM                           |
| bo·r' 2 (= <i>borrow</i> , before a | no·blman 1, noblman 1 A,           |
| vowel), cf. or § 30                 | noblmans 1 A                       |
| bo·ð O + M 1, boð O + (A?)          | no·n OM, absolute and be-          |
| (= <i>both</i> )                    | fore vowels (O: no·n efekt;        |
| bro·d, broder (= <i>broad</i> )     | M: no·n u·ðr godz)                 |
| *tʃarko·l                           | no·z M                             |
| klo·s adj.                          | no·tabl                            |
| *ko·l                               | no·t sb.                           |
| *ko·lurts (= <i>coleworts</i> )     | no·t vb. 2, no·teþ 1, noted + A    |
| do·r                                | o· M                               |
| felo· 1, cf. u· § 34, u § 36        | o·er M (= <i>oar</i> )             |
| fo·rs vb. 1, cf. or § 30            | o·ns (= <i>once</i> )              |
| fo·rpart                            | o·n (= <i>one</i> )                |
| fo·rse·d 1, -sed 1                  | o·nli O +, onli O +, uonli M       |
| fo·rti·p (= <i>foreteeth</i> )      | § 39                               |
| go·                                 | o·phen (= <i>open</i> , see p. 13) |
| go·st M                             | opo·z                              |
| *gro·                               | o·vr-it 1, over 1, overmut/ 1      |

|                                  |                                    |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| purpo·zd                         | ðerfo·r O + M 1, ðerfor O 1 A      |
| ro·r M (= <i>roar</i> ?)         | ðo·z                               |
| ro·m (= <i>Rome</i> ), cf. roman | thro·n (= <i>throne</i> )          |
| § 27                             | to·kn                              |
| *ro· M (= <i>row</i> in a boat)  | understo·d 1 B, -stu·d 2           |
| ro·z M vb.                       | unspo·kn                           |
| semiuo·kals ( <i>u</i> B)        | huerfo·r O + M 1, huerfor          |
| fo·r OM                          | O 1 A                              |
| *fio· 1, fio 2, cf. eu § 18      | ho·l 2, huo·l 3 (= <i>whole</i> ), |
| so·r M (= <i>sore</i> )          | cf. uo· § 39                       |
| spo·kn                           | huo·z 1, huo·z 3; cf. uo· § 39.    |

### § 27. o (short) stressed.

|                              |                                |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| emong                        | kompozd A                      |
| emongst 4, amongst 1         | kompounds                      |
| apostrophe                   | konsonants +, consonants 1 B   |
| belongs                      | kontrari, -riez, -ries         |
| *bestoöd                     | kontrariueiz                   |
| bi-iond                      | kopi, kopies                   |
| bodi O 2, bodi· O 1, boddi M | konterfet, cf. ou § 33         |
| *boldlei                     | krop                           |
| bondadz M                    | kros                           |
| boro, boroöd, cf. ou § 33    | kuriozite                      |
| boð O +, cf. o· § 26         | diskomodite                    |
| choler                       | dodzer M (two letters for dz,  |
| chronikl                     | as if dodzdzger)               |
| koma                         | etimolodzi 2, -logi 1 B        |
| komodious A?                 | folio A?                       |
| komodiu·zlei A?              | folo 1, folu 1, foloing 1,     |
| komodite 1, -ti 3            | foluing +, foluep 3, folu·ep 1 |
| komon                        | fro, cf. p. 17, 18             |
| komonli 1, -lei 2            | from OM                        |



|                                                     |                                                             |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| glori M 2                                           | often                                                       |
| god OM, godz M                                      | *old +, see p. 35                                           |
| gotn                                                | on M                                                        |
| hierof                                              | onli O +, o'nli O +, uonli M                                |
| holli M 5 (= <i>holy</i> )                          | opening A                                                   |
| hoped 1 A, ho'p 1                                   | orthographi                                                 |
| onor M, honor OM                                    | otter M                                                     |
| dʒon                                                | over 1, o'vr-it 1                                           |
| *kno + A, kno' 1, kno'n +                           | overmut/                                                    |
| *knoledʒ 2, kno'ledʒ +                              | oks M                                                       |
| long OM, longer O                                   | polz tʃurt/iard                                             |
| miskonstruŋg                                        | pons M (= <i>Ponce Pilate</i> )                             |
| modes (= <i>moods</i> in gram-<br>mar) B            | proses                                                      |
| modern                                              | profit                                                      |
| most + A?                                           | pronounz sb. pl. (with the<br>mark of shortness on first o) |
| mosion A                                            | proper                                                      |
| mozez M A                                           | *ro M (= <i>row</i> ?, cf. o' § 26)                         |
| *noder 1, neder 3, ne'ðer 1<br>(= <i>neither</i> )  | romain, -s (= <i>Roman</i> , cf.<br>ro'm § 26)              |
| no O + M +                                          | skotif/                                                     |
| noblman 2 A, no'blman 1                             | */io O 2, /o M 3, cf. o' § 26,<br>eu § 18                   |
| not OM                                              | *sloþful                                                    |
| noted + A, cf. o' § 26                              | so OM, A or E                                               |
| noþing 3                                            | soft, -er                                                   |
| notuiðstanding                                      | softli                                                      |
| o, oh M (oh mein o'un<br>lam . . . o mein o'un man) | somhuat 1 B, cf. u § 35                                     |
| okupeied 1, okupied 1                               | stopping                                                    |
| of O + M 2, ov O + M 3, D,<br>see p. 16             | ðerof                                                       |
| ofis, ofises                                        | thomas                                                      |
|                                                     | to 2 B, see u § 35 and § 50                                 |

|                                    |                               |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| unposibl                           | huerof                        |
| upon OM                            | huo +, huom 3, huoz 3,        |
| vois O 3, vo-is M 1, voices        | huo'z 1 (= <i>who</i> , etc.) |
| O +, voisés 1                      | huolei (= <i>wholly</i> )     |
| *voel 1, voelz 1, voël +, voëls +, | ionder.                       |
| voëlz + (= <i>vowel</i> )          |                               |

### § 28. o (short) unstressed.

|                                 |                               |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| aulso +, also 1                 | komprehended                  |
| analodzi                        | konse'vd M                    |
| apostrophe                      | konfes                        |
| -a(')sion, etc., see -ion below | konfirmasion                  |
| boro 1, boroëd 1, cf. ou § 33   | konfounded, -ding             |
| ka'polik M                      | kondzunksion                  |
| kauderon (= <i>cauldron</i> )   | konsent                       |
| t/ariot                         | konsider, -dered, -dred       |
| komaund                         | konsonants +, con- 1 B        |
| komaundment O 1, kom-           | konstre'n, -d                 |
| maundments M 2, komaun-         | konte'nd                      |
| dement O 1 p. 22                | kontented                     |
| komendeþ                        | kontiniual                    |
| kommit M                        | kontiniu 2, -niued 1, -nued 1 |
| komodious                       | konvenientli                  |
| komodiuzlei                     | diskomodite                   |
| komoditi 3, -te 1               | ekko M                        |
| komon                           | etimolodzi, -logi B           |
| komonlei 2, -li 1               | eksodus M                     |
| kommunion M                     | folio A                       |
| kompa'r, -s, -d                 | folo 1, foloïng 1, cf. u § 36 |
| komparison 1, -zon 2            | hehho M (= <i>heigho</i> )    |
| kompozð                         | -ion:                         |
| komponded                       | aspiration A, -ation AB       |

|                           |                               |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| kavilalasions AC          | temta'sion M                  |
| kommunion M               | uzurpasion A                  |
| kompanion                 | leiön M                       |
| konfirmasion A            | moro M                        |
| kondžunksion              | notoriuzli A?                 |
| koreksion                 | obedient (B?)                 |
| definision                | obe'                          |
| derision                  | observasion A                 |
| derivasions +, -tion 2 AB | observed, -vd, -ving          |
| diminusion                | obte'nd                       |
| diskresion                | okazion A                     |
| exepsion                  | ofens                         |
| foundasion A              | ofended                       |
| dženera'sion M            | omited                        |
| impresion                 | opinion                       |
| institusions              | opo'z                         |
| instruksion, -s           | person, -s                    |
| invension, -s             | possessed M B                 |
| mentioned                 | posteriti                     |
| mosion A                  | preposisions                  |
| nasion, -s A              | prosi'deth ( <i>th</i> B)     |
| observasion A             | prodženitors                  |
| okazion A                 | pronouns +, pronuns 1 (=      |
| opinion                   | <i>pronounce</i> )            |
| perfeksion                | pronunsiasion                 |
| persuasion A              | proporsion                    |
| preposisions              | prosperiti                    |
| pronunsiasion A           | provided                      |
| proporsion                | purpoz sb., cf. o' § 26       |
| reformasion A             | re'zon + A, -s 2 A, re'zon 3, |
| rezurreksion              | reson 1                       |
| subieksion ( <i>i</i> B)  | re'zonabl 3, rezonabl 2 A     |

|                            |                  |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| rhetorik                   | sekond 1, -und 2 |
| sabbot (= <i>sabbath</i> ) | sekondli.        |

## § 29. oh, ouh.

|                                         |                                      |
|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| aulpoh 1                                | oht 2, ouht 2 (= <i>ought</i> , vb.) |
| broht O4, brouht O1, bro'uh             | souht                                |
| M 1                                     | poht                                 |
| noht (= <i>nought</i> , <i>naught</i> ) | ðoh +                                |
| oh, o M, see p. 101                     | See above p. 35.                     |

## § 30. or.

|                                    |                                             |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| akording                           | eror 1, erour 1                             |
| akordingli                         | fa'vor vb. 1 (sb. fa'vour 1),               |
| akorns                             | favored 1 A                                 |
| alegori                            | florenteins                                 |
| autor 3, author 1, autours 1       | for OM                                      |
| autoritiz                          | forsed 1 A, cf. o' § 26                     |
| born (ðe t/ild born), cf. o'       | forens (= <i>foreigns</i> , <i>foreign-</i> |
| § 26                               | <i>ners</i> )                               |
| boro 1, boroëd 1, borouëd 1,       | for-faðers A, cf. o' in <i>fore-</i>        |
| bo'r' 2                            | <i>said</i> &c.                             |
| kalumniators                       | forgiv M                                    |
| sichore (= <i>chicory</i> )        | forgivnes M                                 |
| korekted                           | former                                      |
| koreksion                          | forþ 1, cf. ur § 37 (= <i>forth</i> )       |
| korekter 1, korektor 1 (=          | forþ M (= <i>fourth</i> ), cf. ou'          |
| <i>corrector</i> )                 | § 33                                        |
| korupter, -s (= <i>corruptor</i> ) | dʒordʒ OM                                   |
| korupting                          | glori 2 M (A?)                              |
| disorder                           | histori-ureiters                            |
| disordring                         | honor O 1, M 1, onor M 1                    |
| indeuor (u B)                      | horn M                                      |

|                               |                            |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| ignorant                      | prodzenitors               |
| inventors 1, -terz 1, -ters 1 | proporsion                 |
| ivori                         | reformasion                |
| laborers, cf. r § 47          | reformed                   |
| lord M, lords OM              | rhetorik                   |
| memori                        | skorn                      |
| moro M                        | /ort                       |
| nor OM                        | /ortli                     |
| nordren                       | sort                       |
| notoriuzli                    | porn (name of letter)      |
| or OM                         | transitori                 |
| orator, -s                    | tiutors 1, tutors 1        |
| order                         | uniform                    |
| oridžinal                     | uniformlei                 |
| orthographi                   | huerfor 1 A, -fo'r O + M 1 |
| predesesor 2, -sours 1        | u'orld, see p. 7.          |

## § 31. o'i, oi.

|                           |                               |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| t/ois                     | voises +, voïses 1, voïs O 3, |
| hois ('hois the sayle') M | vo-ïs M 1                     |
| o'ister M                 | Cf. <i>join</i> under iu § 9. |
| point                     |                               |

## § 32. o'u.

|                               |                                       |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| bo'u M ('to shoote with')     | mo'ul M (= <i>mole</i> )              |
| bo'ul ( <i>dish</i> ) M       | o'un M 3, cf. ou § 33                 |
| bro'uh't M, cf. § 29          | so'u M ('to so'u a seam, or<br>corn') |
| ho'u M (exclamation)          | so'ul ('a shooe so'ul') M             |
| ho'uld M                      | so'ulz M (= <i>souls</i> ).           |
| mo'u ('to mo'u the grasse') M |                                       |

This notation is found in M only, see above p. 34 ff.

## § 33. ou', ou.

|                                |                                            |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| akount                         | foul M                                     |
| advoutri M                     | found                                      |
| alou, -ed                      | foundasion                                 |
| autours 1, -tor 3, -thor 1     | fou'r (= <i>four</i> )                     |
| boul ('an alley boul') M       | fou'rþ O, forþ M (= <i>fourth</i> )        |
| bound                          | ground                                     |
| borouëd 1, boroëd 1, boro 1,   | hound                                      |
| bo'r' 2                        | hous M                                     |
| bou M ('of a tree')            | hou OM                                     |
| brouht O 1, broht O 3,         | houb'it (= <i>howbeit</i> )                |
| bro'ht M                       | mou ('a mou of corne') M                   |
| t/fauncelour (c B)             | (= <i>mow</i> , OE. <i>māga</i> )          |
| komodious 1, -diuzlei 1        | mouþ                                       |
| kompounded                     | noun                                       |
| kompounds                      | nou OM                                     |
| konfounded, -ding              | our OM, -s O (= <i>our</i> , <i>ours</i> ) |
| kounsel sb. & vb.              | out OM                                     |
| kountenans                     | oun O (= <i>own</i> ), cf. o'u § 32        |
| kounter adj.                   | pound                                      |
| daundzerous                    | pou'r' (= <i>pour</i> )                    |
| dezeirous 1, -ruz 1, deziruz   | pouër O, pouër M                           |
| 1 (i B)                        | predesesours 1, -sors 1                    |
| dout sb.                       | pronounz pl.                               |
| dout vb., -ep                  | pronouns § 28                              |
| doun M                         | round                                      |
| doun-uard                      | sou M ('pig')                              |
| emperour 2, emprour 1          | souht                                      |
| enkouradzed B                  | sound, -s sb.                              |
| erour 1, eror 1                | sound vb., -ed, -ing                       |
| fa'vour sb., cf. § 30 or       | ðou M                                      |
| flou'r (= <i>wheat flour</i> ) | pousandz M                                 |



|                          |                         |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| tout/ing +, tout/t 1 B?, | vnsounded ( <i>v</i> B) |
| tut/ing 1                | uidout O, uidðout M.    |
| tou'r                    |                         |

## § 34. u (long).

[Words in O with u· and in M with u·u = wu, see § 35.]

|                               |                                      |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| abu·v +, abo·v 1 B, abu·vse'd | u·ðr M (= <i>other</i> ), cf. u § 35 |
| 3, abuvse'd 3, abuvuritn      | pru·v 3, pruvd 1 A                   |
| 1, abuv M                     | pu·r M                               |
| behuf OM                      | ru't (= <i>root</i> )                |
| bu·k +, -s +, buk 1           | sku·lma'sters 1, -masters 1          |
| kukku· M                      | (under)stu'd see below               |
| disku·rs                      | su·n, -er                            |
| du· O + M +, du O 3 E, du·n   | su·p                                 |
| O + M 1, dun O 2, du·p        | superflu·z 2, -fiuz 2                |
| O 2, duþ O +, duð O +,        | triu· 1, see § 9                     |
| d'understand O 1              | tu· M 1 (= <i>to</i> ), cf. u § 35   |
| eftsu·n                       | tu·k 1, tuk 1                        |
| felu· 1, cf. u § 36, o § 28   | ðeruntu· 1, -tu 1                    |
| folu·eþ 1, folu·ing 1, cf. u  | tu·ards (= <i>towards</i> )          |
| § 36, o § 28                  | tu· (= <i>two</i> )                  |
| fu·liʃ                        | understu'd 2, -sto'd 1 B             |
| gu·d 4, gud +                 | untu· M                              |
| gramersku·l                   | vertiu·z 1, vertiuz 1 (= <i>vir-</i> |
| indu·eþ M                     | <i>tuous</i> ), see § 9              |
| lu·v OM (= <i>love</i> )      | iu·, cf. iu § 9 and p. 48.           |
| mu·ðr M, muðer O 3 (=         |                                      |
| <i>mother</i> )               |                                      |

## § 35. u (short) stressed.

Cf. § 37 ur.

|                    |                         |
|--------------------|-------------------------|
| abuv OM, see § 34  | anuðer                  |
| akustumd 3, -med 2 | argument, -s, see p. 33 |

|                           |                                       |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| bekums                    | gumz                                  |
| bigun                     | hier-under                            |
| buk 1, bu'k +, bu'ks +    | institutions, see p. 33               |
| but OM                    | instruksion, -s                       |
| kalumniators              | instruments, see p. 28                |
| kum OM, kumeþ O           | dʒudʒ M, iudʒ OB, dʒudʒes O           |
| kommunion M B? p. 33      | dʒugler M                             |
| kondʒunksion              | dʒust                                 |
| korupter, -s              | muðer O 3, mu'ðr M                    |
| korupting                 | muht (= <i>mought, might</i> )        |
| kuld                      | mutʃ +, mitʃ, cf. mikl § 2            |
| kuntre'                   | multitiud                             |
| kuntreman                 | muzik B? p. 33                        |
| kuvet M (= <i>covel</i> ) | must                                  |
| krusifeiing, cf. § 9      | number                                |
| kukku' M                  | numbring                              |
| kustum                    | uðer O +, uðers O 1, uder             |
| cut B                     | O 1, u'ðer O 1, M                     |
| diminution B? p. 33       | uðerueiz                              |
| du 3 D, cf. u' § 34; also | overmutʃ                              |
| d'understand              | pekulier B? p. 33                     |
| dun 2, du'n +             | phlum (= <i>plum</i> , see p. 13)     |
| duþ +, duð +, du'þ 2 D,   | pronuns 1 C?, -nouns + (=             |
| du'tþ ( <i>t</i> B)       | <i>pronounce</i> )                    |
| dubl                      | pronunsiasion                         |
| dubled                    | pruvd 1 A, cf. u' § 34                |
| drum M                    | puppet M                              |
| du'tʃ                     | put, puting                           |
| du'tʃland                 | repugned                              |
| ful                       | ruʃʃin (probably C = <i>rushing</i> ) |
| gud +, gu'd 4             | skrupelus B? p. 33                    |
| guvernurz                 | ʃuld (= <i>should</i> )               |

|                                              |                                     |
|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| sum                                          | trust                               |
| sumhuat +, somhuat 1 B                       | thuni (= <i>tunny</i> )             |
| sun (= <i>son</i> ) M                        | tutors 1 B?, tiutors 1              |
| studi sb.                                    | tutti M                             |
| studied                                      | un-, see § 36                       |
| subiekt ( <i>i</i> B)                        | under O+, undr M 2                  |
| sut/ OM                                      | uniform B p. 33                     |
| suffer, -d M                                 | uniformlei B p. 33                  |
| superfluite B? p. 33                         | up                                  |
| pru 1, pruh 1 (= <i>through</i> ) A?         | uper                                |
| prulei (= <i>thoroughly, thoroughly</i> ) A? | us O+ M+, uz O 1 M 3                |
| prust, -ing                                  | vulgar                              |
| ðus OM                                       | hut 1 C (for huat, <i>what</i> )    |
| tu O+ M+, tu' M 1, to 2,                     | hut/ 2 C (for huit/, <i>which</i> ) |
| t' see § 50                                  | uld +, u'ld 1 (i.e. wuld =          |
| tung, -s                                     | <i>would</i> )                      |
| tut/ing, cf. ou § 33                         | u'uman (i.e. wuman) M               |
| trubl sb.                                    | u'ndring (i.e. wundring)            |
| trubled                                      | u'nt (i.e. wunt = <i>wont</i> adj.) |
| trumpet M                                    | iung.                               |

## § 36. u (short) unstressed.

Cf. § 37 ur.

|                          |                                   |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| akustumd 1, -med 2       | felu 3, feluz 3, felu' 1, felo' 1 |
| argument, -s, see p. 33  | folu 1, folueþ 3, foluing +,      |
| komodiuzlei, cf. ou § 33 | folu'eþ 1, folo 1, foloing 1      |
| kuriuz                   | halued M 2                        |
| kustum                   | instruments, see p. 33            |
| dezeiruz 1, deziruz 1 B, | intu O+ M 3                       |
| dezeirous 1              | dželuz M                          |
| eksodus M                | džezus M                          |

|                                   |                               |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| kingdom M                         | ðeruntu' 1, -tu 1             |
| lauful                            | tugeðer                       |
| miskonstruīg                      | unserten                      |
| ni'dful                           | understand, -ing, -eþ, -sto'd |
| notoriuzli                        | 1, -stu'd 2                   |
| okupeied 1, -pied 1 ( <i>i</i> B) | undiskri't                    |
| pertikuler                        | unexpert ( <i>x</i> B)        |
| plentiful                         | unfe'ned M                    |
| rekapitulat                       | uniuersali ( <i>u</i> B)      |
| skrupelus                         | unlerved                      |
| sekund 2, sekond 1                | unposibl                      |
| seldum                            | unprikt                       |
| singuler                          | vnsounded ( <i>v</i> B)       |
| singulerlei                       | unspo'kn                      |
| sloþful                           | until                         |
| subieksion ( <i>i</i> B)          | untu O 3, untu' M 2           |
| sukses                            | unuritr                       |
| sufisient                         | upon OM                       |
| sufisientli 2, -lei 3             | uzurp                         |
| superfluite                       | uzurpasion                    |
| superflu'z 2, -fliuz 2            | ueizdum                       |
| þankful OM                        | zat/eus M.                    |

## § 37. ur.

|                                                   |                                   |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| t/urt/ OM                                         | kuriozite B?                      |
| t/urt/-iard                                       | diskuradzings                     |
| ko'lwurts (i.e. ko'lwurts =<br><i>coleworts</i> ) | figured (B? p. 33)                |
| (kuradz, in diskuradzings,<br>enkouradzed)        | furþ O + M, furth O1 B,<br>forþ 1 |
| kurtezi                                           | furðer                            |
| kuriuz B? (p. 33)                                 | guvernurz                         |
|                                                   | hurt, -eþ                         |

|                       |                               |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| la·bur, -s O, la·br M | turn, -d 1, -ed 2, -ing       |
| murðr M               | uzurp                         |
| natural               | uzurpasion                    |
| ne·hbur, -z M         | urd 1, u·rd +, u·rds + (i.e.  |
| nurs, -es             | wurd, -s)                     |
| plurali B? (p. 33)    | urk, u·rks (i.e. wurk, wurks) |
| purpoz sb.            | u·ur/ip (i.e. wur/ip) M       |
| purpoz·zd             | u·rðines (i.e. wurðines)      |
| rezurreksion M        | u·rði (i.e. wurði).           |

## § 38. ue·, uei.

|                          |                                            |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| bue· 3 (= <i>boy</i> )   | hueiz (= <i>hoy</i> , M. Dutch <i>hoei</i> |
| buei (= <i>buoy</i> ) OM | 'a small vessel') OM.                      |

These words occur in the specimen phrase "bi ueiz ov ðe hueiz buei" = *be wise of the hoyes bowy*, as Hart himself transliterates it in the usual spelling; uei then seems to mean the same combination of sounds as in ueiz = *wise* (cf. also hueilz = *whiles*). In M the same example is repeated: "hoyes boy should be written ... hueiz buei." With regard to the curious pronunciation of *boy* = bue· it is worthy of note that in his manuscript (leaf 26<sup>b</sup>) Hart wrote the word *buay* (in what was intended to be standard spelling), but in the old-spelling part of O the word is written *Boy* (twice on p. 19<sup>b</sup>, once on p. 26<sup>a</sup>).

## § 39. uo·, uo, uoa.

|                                     |                                       |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| uonli M (= <i>only</i> ), cf. o·, o | huoz 3, huoz 1 (= <i>whose</i> ).     |
| huo (= <i>who</i> )                 | uoad ('to dei bliu', <i>the cloth</i> |
| huo·l 3, ho·l 2 (= <i>whole</i> )   | is uoaded) M, given as                |
| huolei (= <i>wholly</i> )           | example of a triphthong.              |
| huom OM (= <i>whom</i> )            |                                       |

## § 40. ð.

|                                   |                                   |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| aðvertized (cf. aduertizment)     | is carried through that ðe        |
| anuðer                            | is used before consonants         |
| ba·ð M                            | (including h) and ð before        |
| bo·ð O + M 1, boð O +             | vowels. As for O see § 49         |
| bre·ðs 3, bre·ðz 1, breðes        | ðe·r O + M, ðer O 3 A (=          |
| 1 C, sb. pl.                      | <i>their</i> )                    |
| bre·ð vb. 2, bre·ðd +, breðed     | ðe·rz 1, ðers 1 AB                |
| 1 A, breðd 1 A                    | ðem OM                            |
| bri·ðrn M (= <i>brethren</i> )    | ðen OM                            |
| duð +, cf. þ § 41                 | ðens M                            |
| faðer O 1, fa·ðr M 4, fa·dr       | ðe·r 2, ðer + D (= <i>there</i> ) |
| M 2                               | ðerbei                            |
| forfaðers                         | ðerfo·r OM +, -for O 2            |
| furðer (comparative)              | ðerin                             |
| muðer O 3, mu·ðr M 1              | ðerof                             |
| murðr M                           | ðeruntu· 1, -tu 1                 |
| ne·ðer 1, neðer 3, noðer 1        | ðeruið 1, -uiþ 1                  |
| (= <i>neither</i> )               | ðe·z OM +, ðez O                  |
| neðer 2 (= <i>nether</i> [Dutch]) | ðe· (= <i>they</i> )              |
| neverðeles                        | ðein                              |
| norðren                           | miðinks 1 C?, cf. þ § 41          |
| not-uið-standing                  | ðird 1 C, cf. þ § 41              |
| uðer O +, uðers O 1, u·ðer        | ðis OM +, ðiz OM +, cf. § 42      |
| O 1, uder O 1, u·ðr M             | ðou M                             |
| raðer                             | ðoh, cf. aulþoh                   |
| se·ð 1 (may be for se·d,          | ðus OM                            |
| probably for se·þ, cf. duð)       | ðei OM                            |
| ðen +, ðan 1 (= modern            | hueruið                           |
| <i>than</i> )                     | hueðer                            |
| ðat OM                            | uið +, cf. þ, ui' ð'artikl 1,     |
| ðe, ð' or ð. In M the rule        | ui' ðe 1                          |



uiðin OM

u'rðines (i.e. wur-)

uiðout O, uiððout M

u'rði (i.e. wur-).

## § 41. þ.

Cf. -ep § 12.

aulþoh, cf. ðoh

smiþ M

breþ +, bre'þ + sb., cf. ð

su'þ

## § 40

stei'þ (= *stayeth*)

de'þ

ta'kþ M 1, ta'keþ O 1

diphþongs +, -thong +

ti'þ

duþ +, du'þ 2, duð +

þankful

erþ M 2, e'rþ M 1

ðeruiþ 1, -uið

aehtþ (= *eighth*)

þik OM

feivþ 2 (= *fifth*)

þi'f M 1, thi'f O 1 B

fo'rtiþ (= *foreteeth*)

þimbl M

forþ O 1, furþ O + M 1, furth

þin OM

O 1 B (= *forth*)

þing, -s

four'þ O 1, forþ M 1

þink +, miþinks 1, miðinks 1

(= *fourth*)

þird O 1 M 1, ðird O 1

friþ M

þirdli 1, -lei 1

hap

þorn (name of letter)

he'þ

þoht + vb.

help M

þri' OM

lengþ

þruh 1, þru 1

mouþ

þrulei

noþing

þrust, -ing

se'þ O + M 1, sep O 1, se'ð

uelþ

## O 1

hueruiþ M 1, -uið O 1

se'vnþ M 2, sevnþ M 1

uiþ + chiefly before voice-

sitþ M

less sounds, uið +

sloþful

iuþ (= *youth*).For *th* see § 44.

## § 42. z.

|                              |                                   |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| abiuz +vb., -d +, -eth 1     | dezeiruz 1, -rous 1, dezi-        |
| aktivz                       | ruz 1                             |
| aðvertized                   | devi'zd 1, deveizd 2, deueizd 2   |
| aduertizment                 | enemies ov . . enemies tu         |
| aulue'z O + M, alue'z O 2,   | e'rz (= <i>ears</i> )             |
| auluais O 1 B                | e'zd 1, ez 1A (= <i>ease</i> vb.) |
| az O 4 (az ðe, az uel, az    | e'zili                            |
| na'mli, az iu), as O +; az   | e'zi 2, ezi 1                     |
| M 5 (before vowels and       | ezzi M (= <i>easy</i> ??)         |
| voiced cons.); as not found  | enterpreis                        |
| in M                         | exersi'z, -ez, -ing, cf. p. 28    |
| autoritiz                    | faultz C                          |
| bikauz +, bikaus 2 (b. ðe,   | feluz                             |
| b. sum)                      | godz M gen.                       |
| bra'zn                       | guvernurz                         |
| bre'ðz 1, bre'ðs 3, breðes 1 | gumz                              |
| sb. pl.                      | hebriuz 1, hebrius 1              |
| kauz 4, -ep 1, -es 1, kaused | hiz O +, his + chiefly before     |
| 1 B                          | voiceless consonants; M           |
| t/astizing                   | hiz 7 before voiced conso-        |
| t/i'z                        | nants and 3 before vowels,        |
| komodiuzlei, cf. s § 43      | his 2 before voiceless con-       |
| komparizon 2, -son 1         | sonants and 1 before a            |
| kompozđ                      | pause (1 his before a             |
| kontrariez 1, -ies 2         | vowel corrected to hiz in         |
| kontrariueiz                 | second impression)                |
| kuriuz                       | ho'z OM                           |
| kuriozite                    | hueiz OM (= <i>hoy's</i> )        |
| de'z O 3 M 2, dez M 1A       | inventors first . . inventerz     |
| dezeir                       | ov, inventers of                  |

|                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| iz O +, is O 2 (is piuër, is<br>sed); iz M 2 before vowels,<br>1 before h, 1 before a<br>voiced consonant, 1 before<br>a pause; is M 1 before a<br>pause | kuantitiz<br>re'z (= <i>raise</i> )<br>re'zon 3, rezon + A, rezons<br>1 A?, reson 1<br>re'zonabl 3, rezonabl 2 A?<br>refiuz sb.<br>reprezent M<br>riulz sb. pl.<br>se'z 2 (= <i>says</i> )<br>se'ingz<br>selvz M, selvs O<br>sinz M<br>so'ulz M<br>spelerz<br>superflu'z 2, -fliuz 2<br>ðe'rz 1, ðers 1<br>ðe'z O +, ðez O + A?; in M<br>ðe'z 2, in one of these<br>ðe's was corrected into<br>the'z in the second im-<br>pression (= <i>these</i> )<br>ðis O +, ðiz O + chiefly before<br>voiced sounds; ðiz M 2<br>before voiced consonants<br>þousandz M<br>thre'ziur<br>treatiz 4, treatis 2, treasiz<br>1 C<br>uz O 1 (uz aul), us O +; in<br>M uz 2 before voiced cons.<br>and 1 before a vowel; us<br>3 before voiceless cons., |
| dʒeluz M                                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| lauz M                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| manz                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| materz                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| muzik                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| nehburz M                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| no'z M                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| notoriuzli                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| okazion                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| opo'z                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| ourz 1, ours 2                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| pe'rz +, pers 3                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| parenthezis                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| polz (= <i>Paul's</i> )                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| persuazion                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| ple'zant                                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| ple'z 2 (= <i>please</i> ), plezd 1                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| pleziur                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| premisez                                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| prezent 1, present 1 adj. B                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| prezented 1, present 2 vb. B                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| prezentlei 1, pres- 1                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| prezerving                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| pronounz sb. pl.                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| purpoz sb.                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| purpo'zd                                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |

|                                          |                                   |
|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 before h, 4 before a                   | voëlz +, voelz 1, voëls +         |
| pause and 1 (B) before a                 | uaz O +, uas O 1 (before w-),     |
| voiced cons.                             | uas M 2 before voiceless          |
| iuz vb., -est, -ep, -d, -ing;            | cons.                             |
| thus also in "ar iuzd tu                 | hueraz +, -as 1                   |
| b'aspi'rd"; "ui iuz tu                   | hueilz (= <i>whiles</i> conj.)    |
| bre'ð"; "du aulso iuz tu                 | huo'z 1, huoz 3 (= <i>whose</i> ) |
| sound"                                   | ueizdum                           |
| iuz sb. 1 C, ius 4; in the               | ueiz adj.                         |
| plural Hart says that s is               | ueiz sb.                          |
| turned into z                            | uitnez M (before a vowel)         |
| uzurp                                    | zat/eus M                         |
| uzurpasion                               | zakari M                          |
| vertiuz sb. pl.                          | zebed M.                          |
| vertiuz 1, -tiu'z 1 (= <i>virtuous</i> ) |                                   |

## § 43. s.

Instances of initial s and of s in such groups as sp, ps, st, ts &c. are not enumerated. For the ending -sion see § 28 (-ion).

|                             |                            |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| abius sb.                   | asiured                    |
| akorns                      | autours                    |
| akue'ntans                  | bikaus, cf. z § 42         |
| advansed                    | bekums                     |
| advaunsment                 | belongs                    |
| a'dʒes                      | birds                      |
| auluais 1, cf. z § 42       | bre'ðs, breðes, cf. z § 42 |
| aunsient                    | briefnes                   |
| artikls                     | kalumniators               |
| as O, not in M, cf. § 42 az | kaused B, cf. z § 42       |
| affes M                     | kavilalations BC           |
| asiurans                    | se's M                     |

|                                |                                |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| t/ois                          | eksept +, exept 3              |
| klo's adj.                     | exsepting 1, exepting 1        |
| komodious, cf. z § 42          | exses                          |
| kompa'rs                       | exersi'z, -ez, -ing, cf. p. 28 |
| komparison 1, -zon 2           | experiens                      |
| kompounds sb.                  | figiurs                        |
| kontraries 2, -iez 1           | florenteins                    |
| kopies                         | fo'rs, forsed                  |
| korupters                      | for-faðers                     |
| kounsel sb. & vb.              | forens                         |
| kountenans                     | gramarians                     |
| daundzerous                    | gresians                       |
| derivations                    | hebrius 1, -iuz 1              |
| dezeirous, cf. z § 42          | hinderans                      |
| diferens, -es                  | his, cf. z § 42                |
| diphþongs                      | histori-ureiters               |
| diskuradzings                  | inkre's sb. & vb.              |
| disku'rs                       | institutions                   |
| disorder, -dring               | instruksions                   |
| distans                        | enterliuds                     |
| divers +, diuers 1, deivers 3, | invensions                     |
| deiurs 1                       | inventors, -ters, cf. § 42     |
| diverslei 2, deiverslei 1      | is, cf. z § 42                 |
| elders                         | dʒudʒes                        |
| els                            | laborers                       |
| els-huer                       | la'burs                        |
| enimies, cf. § 42              | langadʒes                      |
| epistls                        | las M                          |
| espesialei                     | leters +, letters 1            |
| eksampl O 1 M 1, exampl O 1,   | lords (only in the com-        |
| exampls O 1, examples O 1      | bination ðe lords pre'r),      |
| exseling                       | O 3 M 1                        |

|                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| maners                     | present, cf. z § 42        |
| mens                       | presentlei 1, prez- 1      |
| mi'ters                    | primitivs                  |
| michaelmas, mit/elmas      | prins, -es                 |
| misplasing                 | printers                   |
| modes B (= <i>moods</i> )  | prosi'deth ( <i>th</i> B)  |
| na'ms                      | proses (= <i>process</i> ) |
| nasions                    | prodzenitors               |
| nesesari                   | pronouns vb.+, -nuns 1     |
| ni'ds                      | (= <i>pronounce</i> )      |
| neuters                    | pronunsiasion              |
| nikles (= <i>Nicolas</i> ) | rezons, reson, cf. § 42    |
| noblmans gen.              | rese'v, -d, -ing           |
| nurses                     | rediused                   |
| observasion                | rehers                     |
| observed, -vd, -ving       | remembrans                 |
| ofens                      | romains                    |
| ofis, -es                  | sku'lma'sters 1, -masters  |
| orators                    | skrupelus                  |
| uðers                      | seas B                     |
| ours 2, ourz 1             | selvs O, selvz M           |
| parenthezis                | semiuo'kals                |
| pe'rs 3, pe'rz +           | sens                       |
| person, -s                 | sentens                    |
| pla's+, -es 2, plases 1    | sisters                    |
| pla'sing, pla'sed          | sounds                     |
| ple'ters                   | spi't/es                   |
| possessed MB               | strandzers                 |
| pouërs                     | sufisient, -li, -lei       |
| predesesors 2, -ours 1     | siur, siuër                |
| premisez                   | sui'tnes                   |
| preposisions               | silabls                    |



|                                    |                                     |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| tenses                             | treifls                             |
| tha'ms                             | tiutors, tutors                     |
| ðers 1, ðe'rz 1 (= <i>theirs</i> ) | uniuersali                          |
| ðens M                             | us, cf. z § 42                      |
| þings                              | ius, cf. z § 42                     |
| ðis, ðiz, cf. z § 42               | verbs                               |
| thomas                             | veises 1, vises 1 (= <i>vices</i> ) |
| þousandz M                         | voïs, voices                        |
| ðus                                | voëls, cf. z § 42                   |
| teims                              | uas, cf. z § 42                     |
| ti'tls                             | ue's (= <i>ways</i> )               |
| tungs                              | huens                               |
| tu'ards                            | hueras 1, -az +                     |
| transitori                         | u'rdz (= <i>words</i> )             |
| translating                        | u'rðines                            |
| treatis, cf. z § 42                | ureiters (histori-).                |
| trespasses M (before a pause)      |                                     |

#### § 44. h (medial and final).

Cf. ih § 4, oh, ouh § 29.

|                          |                                   |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| ah-ha M                  | lauh M, lauhing O, laucht O       |
| dauhtr M                 | muht O+ (= <i>mought, might</i> ) |
| aehtþ (= <i>eighth</i> ) | ne'hbur, -z M                     |
| hah OM                   | streht, -er                       |
| heh                      | taucht 2, taught 1 B              |
| hehho M                  | þruh 1, þru 1 (þrulei 2).         |

With regard to hah, heh (and hehho?), note Hart's words p. 39<sup>a</sup> [h] "whose propertie is to signifie onely the breath without any meane of instrument or sound as we vse it before and after the sound of the vowell in laughing hah, or heh, &c."

Further, h is used in the following words:

|                              |                             |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| alphabet                     | parenthesis                 |
| apostrophe                   | sathan                      |
| author 1, autor 3, autours 1 | tha'ms (= <i>Thames</i> )   |
| chamel 1, kamel 2            | thomas                      |
| chandl 1, kandel 1, kandel 1 | thro'n                      |
| choler                       | theim (= <i>thyme</i> )     |
| khrist O 1, krist M 2        | thriakl (= <i>treacle</i> ) |
| chronikl                     | thre'ziur                   |
| diphþongs +, diphthong +     | thuni (= <i>tunny</i> ).    |
| orthographi                  |                             |

In all these words *h* is a half etymological, half phonetic sign of the aspiration of the stop (see above, p. 13), and *th* does not mean the sound þ. Hart wrote *t* and not *th* in *katerin* and *sabbot* (= *Catherine*, *sabbath*). In *rhetoric* both *h* and *c* are due to the ordinary spelling.

#### § 45. Syllabic 1.

|                                   |                                  |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| a'bl 1, abl 1 A                   | eidllei                          |
| ampl                              | ketl                             |
| artikl, -s                        | la'dl M                          |
| be'dl                             | le'dʒibl                         |
| chandl 1, kandel 1, kandel 1      | litl                             |
| kastl                             | mikl (northern = <i>mickle</i> ) |
| chronikl                          | no'blman 1, noblman 1            |
| dubl +, dabled 2                  | no'tabl                          |
| epistls                           | re'zonabl 3, rezonabl 1          |
| ivl M                             | sa'bl                            |
| eksampl O M, exampl O,            | simpl 1, simple 1 B              |
| exampis O 1, examples             | singl                            |
| O 1 B                             | silabl, -s                       |
| dʒentl OM                         | ta'bl                            |
| ha'bl (= <i>able</i> , cf. above) | ti'tl, -s                        |

|                             |                     |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| pimbl M                     | treifls             |
| thriakl (= <i>treacle</i> ) | trubl (troubled B). |

## § 46. Syllabic n.

|                                |                       |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| ka'pn                          | se'vn +               |
| i'vn 2, ivn 1, iven 1          | se'vnþ M 2, sevnþ M 1 |
| givn +, gi'vn 1 (dot doubtful) | spo'kn                |
| gotn                           | ta'kn                 |
| hapn                           | to'kn                 |
| he'vn M                        | uritn.                |
| oftn                           |                       |

## § 47. Syllabic r.

Not represented in O, except perhaps in o'vr-it (1) as against over (1) and overmut/ (1).

|                             |                          |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| bri'ðrn M                   | ma'kr M                  |
| t/ildrñ M, t/iilder O2      | mu'ðr M, muðer O         |
| dauhtr M                    | murðr M                  |
| delivr M                    | strandʒr                 |
| evrlasting M, ever- O       | u'ðr M, u'ðer O, uðer O, |
| fa'ðr 4, fa'dr 2 M, faðer O | uder O                   |
| fi'dr M                     | remembr M, remember O    |
| givr M, giver O             | undr M, under O          |
| la'br M, la'bur O           | ua'tr M, ua'ter O.       |

## § 48. d or t

without vowel in the ending *-ed*.

Cf. *-ed* § 12.

|                   |                               |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| abiuzd            | aspi'rd                       |
| akustumd 1, -ed 2 | bre'ðd +, breðd 1A, bre'ðed 1 |
| afirmd            | kauld                         |
| aledʒd            | t/andʒd 2, t/aundʒd 1,        |
| api'rd            | t/aungd 1B, t/andʒed +        |

|                                |                          |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| kompa'rd                       | past                     |
| kompoz'd A                     | pild (= <i>pilled?</i> ) |
| konse'vd M                     | plezd A                  |
| konstre'nd                     | purpo'zd                 |
| konte'nd                       | rese'vd                  |
| kriusifeid M                   | retend A                 |
| decla'rd                       | satisfeid                |
| deri'vd +, derivd 2 A          | si'md                    |
| diskreibd                      | servd                    |
| devi'zd 1, deveiz 2, deueizd 1 | fa'mfast                 |
| e'zd                           | fa'pt                    |
| exprest                        | ste'd 1, ste'id 1        |
| fra'md                         | sufferd M                |
| lauht                          | teid                     |
| lernd ptc. 2, adj. 2, lerned   | tout/t                   |
| adj. 7                         | turnd 1, -ned 2          |
| li'kt (= <i>liked</i> )        | unprikt                  |
| na'md                          | iuzd.                    |
| obte'nd                        |                          |

### § 49. ð' or ð instead of ðe

occurs before the following words:

|               |                   |
|---------------|-------------------|
| abu'v-se'd    | autor, -s, author |
| abius, abiuzd | erþ M             |
| akiut         | e'r               |
| afein         | element           |
| alphabet      | emperour          |
| aunsient      | end               |
| apostrophe    | eror              |
| argument      | etimologi         |
| artikl        | eksampl           |
| aspiration    | experiëns         |

|                            |                      |
|----------------------------|----------------------|
| f                          | orator               |
| he briu; also ðe he briu 2 | order                |
| ignorant                   | oridžinal            |
| il                         | orthographi          |
| iner                       | uðer, u'ðer, uder    |
| instruments                | spesiaul (tu ð' sp.) |
| inuard                     | understanding        |
| inversions                 | unlerned             |
| inventors                  | uper                 |
| italian                    | ius                  |
| old                        | ualf                 |
| o'n                        | u'rd 2, ðe u'rd 1.   |
| opinion                    |                      |

Thus *the* is shortened before vowels, including *iu*, and before *w*, and rarely before *h* and *s*; in M Hart writes ðe holli and ðe hous. The full form ðe occurs very rarely before a vowel, I have recorded only ðe old, ðe unexpert, ðe ei, ðe amendment and ðe element in O; in M no instances are found.

Compare also the elisions in b'aspi'rd = *be aspired*, houb'it (note the long vowel) = *howbeit*, az't-uer = *as it were* and hierbei't-iz = *hereby it is*.

### § 50. t' instead of tu.

|               |                     |
|---------------|---------------------|
| occurs before | ez (= <i>ease</i> ) |
| afekt         | obe'                |
| amend         | opo'z               |
| an-uðer       | understand          |
| ani           | iuz.                |
| ate'n         |                     |

Cf. also d'understand (= *do u.*).

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C. F. Wintersche Buchdruckerei.

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pronunciation of English

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